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## ON THE DATE AND AUTHORSHIP OF THE *CHANSON DE GUILLAUME*

THE conclusions reached by Ferdinand Lot<sup>1</sup> regarding the *Chanson de Guillaume* may find further support in some of the names of the first part of the poem. Vivien, appealing to Guillaume for help at L'Archamp, alludes to an earlier fight of his own:

Cil jur perdi Raher, un mien fedeil,  
Jur que m'en membre, n'ert hure ne m'en peist!<sup>2</sup>

The name "Raher" does not occur again in epic poetry. Yet it is a real name, and in the English *Dictionary of National Biography*<sup>3</sup> it is given as the name of a Norman, Rahere, who first appears as a witness to charters from the eastern boundary of Brittany; afterward he figures at the court of William Rufus (1087-1100). Crossing over to England, he founded, in 1123, St. Bartholomew's Hospital at London. He died in 1144. A kinsman of the preceding generation could well have been the poet's contemporary, since Ferdinand Lot places his poem "vers 1080 ou même vers 1070."<sup>4</sup> Therefore these verses would reveal genuine feeling, sorrow at the loss of a dear friend. Such expression is rare in epic poetry.

This surmise, if correct, might go far to explain the presence in the *Chanson* of another contemporary in the person of Guischart. In the poem, Guischart, a converted Moslem, fights hard on the Christian

<sup>1</sup> "Études sur les légendes épiques françaises," *Romania*, LIII (1927), 449-73.

<sup>2</sup> *La Chançon de Willame*, ed. Tyler (New York, 1919), vss. 664-65. Cf. vss. 986-87.

<sup>3</sup> XLVII, 166.

<sup>4</sup> F. Lot, *op. cit.*, p. 465.

side at L'Archamp. Near the battle's close he is bleeding his life away from mortal wounds. He then recants, and in his bitterness declares that belief in Mahomet would have saved him from his present doom.

Guischard is Robert Guiscard, of whom, of course, history knows much. A younger son of Tancred d'Hauteville,<sup>1</sup> Robert followed his older brothers into Italy, in 1046 or 1047. His energy and shrewdness, and an alliance offered him by Girard of Buonalbergo (near Benevento), won him successes that encouraged the pope to invest him, in 1059, with Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily. Sicily was then held by the Saracens; and his attacks on them were accompanied by stirring appeals to his men, such as would characterize a genuine religious crusade. He was again victorious; but in 1074, when he went so far as to threaten the pope's territory with invasion, the pope excommunicated him. This ban was removed in 1080. It seems possible that the excommunication, after such a display of religious zeal, so stirred the poet as to suggest the invention of Guischard's apostasy. In that case, this episode would have been written not earlier than 1074, and perhaps not later than 1080.

The Girard of the *Chanson* is quite certainly Robert's ally, Girard of Buonalbergo. The poet himself seems conscious of this solidarity, for, near the end of the battle at L'Archamp, Girard and Guischard remain, with Guillaume, the sole survivors:

Od treis escuz remis al champ tut sul.  
L'uns fu Girard, li uaillant fereür,  
L'altres Guischard, (le) nevou dame Guibure.<sup>2</sup>

In the final attack they both fall. When their names unexpectedly recur in the second part of the *Chanson*, Girard's is mentioned three times, and each time in the same verse with Guischard's:

Ne quons Gichard ne Girard quis cadele [vs. 2102].  
E quons Guischard e Girard fiz Cadele [vs. 3157].  
E dan Guischard e Girard fiz Cadele [vs. 3458].

That part of the Monte Cassino chronicle which was written by Amatus, between 1075 and 1080, relates that Girard made an offer of alliance to Robert, and also that Girard was the first to give Robert his surname of "Guiscard." The original manuscript of this section

<sup>1</sup> Hauteville, near Coutances, later called Hauteville-la-Guichard.

<sup>2</sup> Vss. 1130-32. Cf. vss. 1127, 1129.

has been lost; but a French translation, made at the turn of the thirteenth century, has preserved the account. It reads:

Et Gyrart lui vint qui se clamoit de Bone Herberge, et coment se dist, cestui Gyrart lo clama premierement Viscart, et lui dist: "O Viscart! pourquoi vas ça et la? pren ma tante, soror de mon pere, pour moillier, et je serai ton chevalier; et vendra[i]l avec toi pour aquester Calabre, et avec moi .ij. .c. chevaliers."<sup>1</sup>

Leo de' Marsi, who used Amatus' work in a revision of the chronicle which Leo began in 1098, repeats the substance of the French translation, but adds, either of himself or from Amatus: "quasi per iocum Viscardum appellavit."<sup>2</sup>

The poet's keen interest in the careers of his fellow-Normans in Italy may also have led him to a slight deviation from the epic tradition which he had received. A generation or more before the composition of the *Chanson de Guillaume*, what is called the *Hague Fragment* had preserved the recital of an assault on a hostile fortress by some of Charlemagne's men. In that assault Ernald and Wibelin, two French knights, had killed a Borel and two of his sons. In the second part of the *Chanson de Guillaume* we find these two knights, Hernald and Guibelin, as Guillaume's brothers. Yet nothing is said there of Borel or of his sons. In the first part of the *Chanson* a similar exploit is credited to Vivien; but Borel is not here a victim, and the number of sons is set at twelve: "E decolad les fiz Borel tuz duze" (vs. 378; cf. vs. 644). Now a Borel family was living in Southern Italy, in the Sangro Valley, during the time of Robert Guiscard's conquests. The annals of the day, in prose and poetry, often mention the "sons of Borel." Robert was in contact with them in 1060, 1061, and probably also in 1069.<sup>3</sup> So the phrase must have reached the ears of the poet of the *Chanson*, keenly alive as he was to all that befell Robert; it may have aroused in him the memory of the story which is handed down to us by the *Hague Fragment*. But why, in making Vivien the victor, he increases the number of his victims to twelve, and all sons, is not so

<sup>1</sup> Aimé, *Ystoire de li Normant* ("Société de l'Histoire de Normandie," Rouen, 1892), p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, VII, 707, 14-17.

<sup>3</sup> Pertz, VII, 654, 14 (*fili Borelli*); also VII, 679, 12; 694, 38; 714, 14; 720, 10; 731, 21, 25 (*comes Borrelli maioris filius*). Cf. William of Apulia, Pertz, IX, 254, vs. 161 (*Et Burrellina generosa propagine proles*), and Aimé, *Ystoire de li Normant* (*li potent fil de Burielle*).

easily explained. Twelve, however, is the well-known conventional figure of history or saga, and we should remember that the sons of Tancred d'Hauteville numbered an even dozen. Still, whatever cause might be alleged for the poet's choice, or for his deviation from accepted tradition, his choice did not always guide authors who followed him. The poet of *Aliscans*, who probably took his matter directly from the *Chanson de Guillaume*, raised its twelve to fourteen, or even thirty.<sup>1</sup> *Aimeri de Narbonne*, decades later, returned to twelve (vs. 4571); and the *Siège de Barbastre*, later still, repeated, in its single passage, the second hemistich of the *Chanson*: "Que assis vos i orent li fil Borel tuit doze."<sup>2</sup>

It is remarkable that the introduction of contemporary life into such an epic narrative as the *Chanson de Guillaume* affected so slightly its epic tone. The appearance of Rahere, Guiscard, Girard, and the sons of Borel does not alter to any degree its nature; their names, however, do help to justify Ferdinand Lot's conclusions regarding its composition. They show that its author was not only a Norman but a Norman of the western border; probably he was of the region around Mont-St.-Michel and Avranches. His training could have been acquired at the Abbey, his audience furnished by the courtiers at Avranches. He would be writing after Robert Guiscard had attained prominence, and probably during the eighth decade of the eleventh century. Nor is there any indication of monkish influence in his composition. He apparently knew only the traditions of his locality.

It may be recalled that some years ago<sup>3</sup> I suggested that essential features of the French national epic—patriotism and religious zeal—had already disclosed themselves in the tradition of Norman raids into France of the ninth and early tenth centuries. For it was love of country and the defense of Christianity that King Eudes would excite in his men, on the occasion of a Norman raid of 892-93, as Richer writes in 996. And Richer's romantic description of the fight that followed Eudes' appeal contains some of the coloring which is found long afterward in certain poems of the William of Orange cycle.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Aliscans*, ed. Wienbeck, vss. 1855, 5092, 5988 ("all fourteen"); vs. 5360 ("thirty").

<sup>2</sup> *Le Siège de Barbastre*, ed. Perrier, vs. 3543.

<sup>3</sup> *Modern Philology*, XIV (1916), 29-44.

<sup>4</sup> See also *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXX (1915), 645-57.

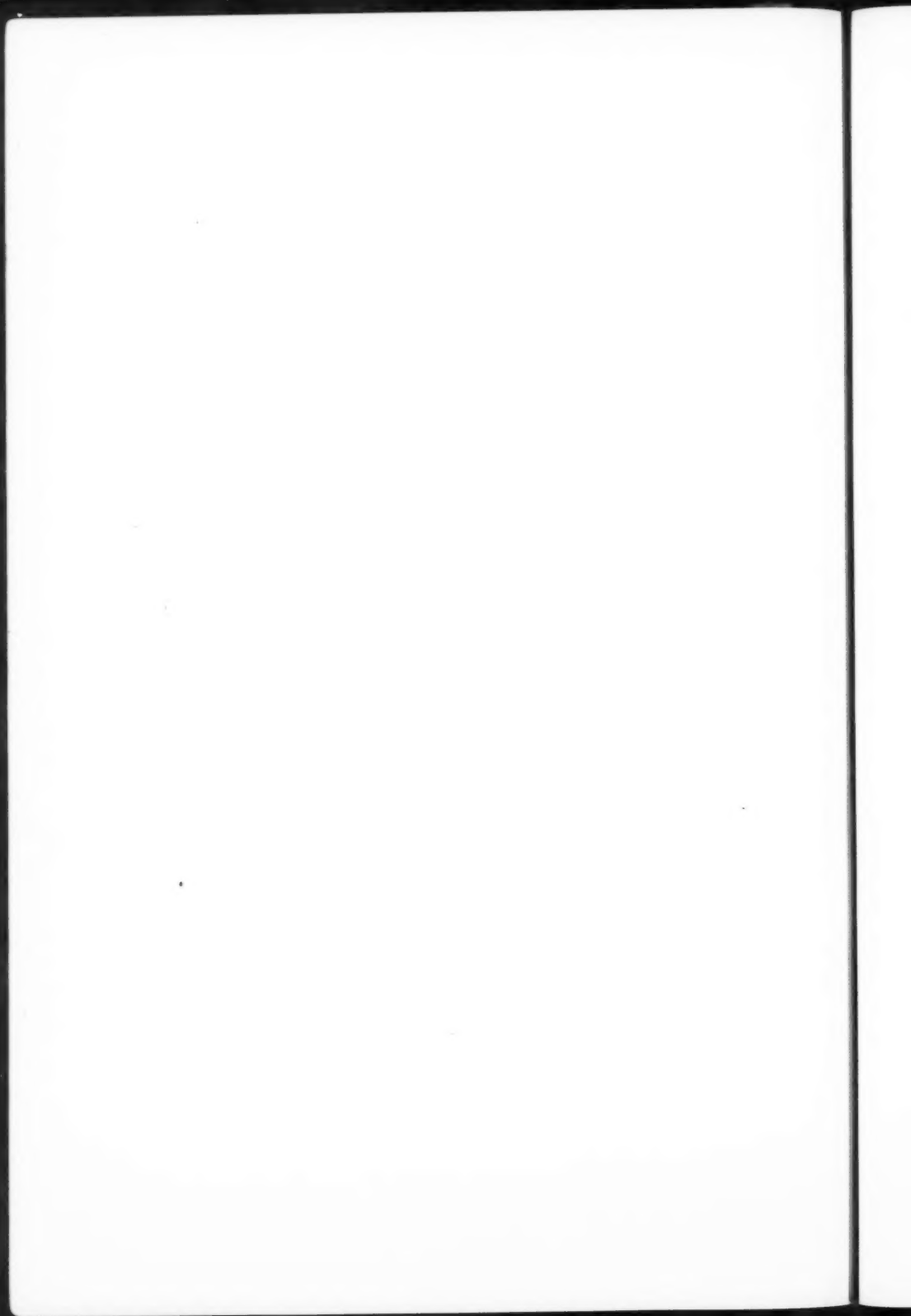
In the second chapter of the sixth book of his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Orderic Vital tells of Geroldus, chaplain of Hugh of Avranches, who, while carrying out devotedly his prescribed duties as priest, would frequently exhort Hugh's courtiers, old and young, to imitate the good example of those who had gone before, whether worthies of the Old Testament or the more militant saints. "Addebat etiam de sancto athleta Guillelmo, qui post longam militiam abrenuntiavit saeculo, et sub monachili regula gloriose militavit Domino."<sup>1</sup> This Hugh became, in 1071, Earl of Essex. In the same locality, then, where the *Chanson de Guillaume* was probably written, and not far from the time of its actual composition, the story of Guillaume's heroic life was a favorite theme with a personage like Chaplain Geroldus.

It is also possible that the author of the *Chanson* had heard of Guillaume's renunciation of the world, for in the second part of the poem, Guillaume, after his return to Orange from the fight at L'Archamp, says to Guiboure:

Or m'enfuirai en estrange regné,  
A Saint Michel al Peril de la mer,  
V a Saint Pere, le bon apostre Dev,  
V en un guast v ne seie troué:  
La deuendrai hermites ordené [vss. 2416-20].

†F. M. WARREN

<sup>1</sup> Cf. F. Lot, *op. cit.*, p. 466, n.; J. Bédier, *Les Légendes épiques*, I, 119-20.



THE FRAGMENT OF *PIERS PLOWMAN*  
IN ASHBURNHAM NO. CXXX

THERE are four manuscripts of the poem, *Piers Plowman*, sometimes attributed to William Langland, in the Huntington Library. One of these manuscripts, Ashburnham No. CXXX, now Huntington MS 128, was described by the late Rev. Walter W. Skeat in his edition of *Piers Plowman* ("EETS," XXXVIII, xxi). It contains the following pieces:

1. Prikke of Conscience [fols. 1r.-95r.; verso blank]
2. Piers Plowman [B-text, Fragment: fols. 96r.-97v.; 96v. blank]
3. Sequentiae . . . [in Latin; fols. 98r.-113v.]
4. Piers Plowman [B-text, complete copy: fols. 114r.-206r.]
5. Siege of Jerusalem [fols. 206r.-217r.]
6. How the good wife taught her daughter [fols. 217v.-220r.]

On page xxii Skeat says:

The *second* article, viz., the Fragment, is an entirely distinct thing from the *fourth* article. Being, moreover, wrongly bound up, it looks at first like *two* fragments; for the passage beginning with

'than drede went wyȝtly · and warnede fals' (ii. 208),  
and ending with

'woldest thou glase that gable · and grauen . . . ' (iii. 49),

is on the *second* of these leaves; while the rest of the passage, from iii. 50 to "*faciat dextra*" (iii. 72), is on the first half of the *first* leaf, the rest of that leaf being blank. It is a fragment belonging to the B-text, but too short to be of any importance; which is my reason for not numbering it *separately*, as theoretically it ought to be.

The Huntington Library is planning to publish a complete facsimile of the text of *Piers Plowman* found in this manuscript, at which time various bibliographical problems connected with the text proper, such as underwriting, alterations, etc., will be discussed. The present paper is concerned solely with the fragment. I propose to show that the fragment was originally a part of the complete text of *Piers Plowman* (art. 4) and not, as Skeat says, a distinct thing.

The fragment is now physically a part of article 1, the *Prikke of Conscience*, and its exact position will be made clear by the accompanying diagram of the last gathering of that work (Fig. 1).

The *Prikke* ends on the recto of folio 95. The fragment, article 2, begins, on the recto of folio 96, with the line "fful siker schulde thy soule be . . . ." (iii, 50), and ends with the line "Nesciat sinistra manus: quid faciat dextra" (iii, 72-73); the text occupies only half the page, the rest being blank. Folio 96v. is blank. Folio 97r. begins with the line "than drede went wy3tly . . . ." (ii, 208), and ends with the line "curtesly the clerk thanne . . . ." (iii, 9), the text occupying the

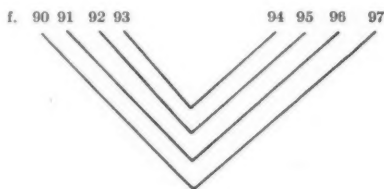


FIG. 1

full page. Folio 97v. begins with the line "Tok mede by the middel . . . ." (iii, 10), and ends with the line "Woldest thow glase that gable . . . ." (iii, 49). The correct order of the text in the *Piers* fragment, article 4, would be as follows:

FOLIO 97R.: than drede went wy3tly. . . .

FOLIO 97V.: Tok mede by the middel. . . .

FOLIO 96R.: fful siker schulde thy soule. . . .

Three scribes can be distinguished:

SCRIBE A: Writer of article 1, the *Prikke*, the first eight leaves of article 4, *Piers Plowman*, and the first twenty-two lines of article 2, the fragment.

SCRIBE B: The writer who continued the fragment, article 2, where Scribe A left off [fol. 96r., part of fol. 97r., and the whole of fol. 97v.].

SCRIBE C: The writer who completed article 4, folio 122 to the end, folio 206r.

The accompanying diagram (Figs. 2 and 3) will show exactly how the complete text (art. 4) was originally linked up with article 2. The

abbreviations "r." and "v." for "recto" and "verso," below refer to the leaves as rearranged in Figure 3, and not as in Figure 1:

- FOLIO 97r.: than drede went wyztly. . . .  
 97v.: Tok mede by the middel. . . .  
 FOLIO 96r.: fful siker schulde thy soule be. . . .  
 96v.: [Blank]  
 FOLIO 91r. [Prikke]: and wiþ oþer vermyyn. . . .  
 91v. [Prikke]: and set vpon a montayn. . . .  
 FOLIO 90r. [Prikke]: For alle men lyuyng. . . .  
 90v. [Prikke]: The synfull protes. . . .

f. 114 115 116 117

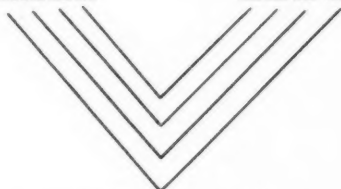


FIG. 2.—First gathering of art. 4

118 119 120

121 97 96

x x

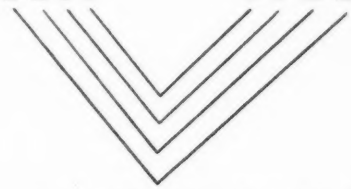


FIG. 3.—Original second gathering of art. 4 reconstructed with art. 2 in correct order.

This may be explained in the following way. Scribe A, having completed the first gathering (Fig. 2), took the second gathering (Fig. 3) and commenced to write on it. After writing twenty-two lines he stopped and Scribe B continued on folios 97r., 97v., and 96r. A new scribe, C, took up the work, who retained the first gathering but discarded the second (Fig. 3) entirely, and continued with a new gathering on folio 122 of the text where A had left off at the end of the first gathering (Fig. 2). When the second gathering (Fig. 3) was discarded, only folios 97 and 96 had been written on; folios 91 and 90 were blank. The leaves marked *x* in Figure 3 were no doubt used in another part of the manuscript, as they had not been written on when the gathering was discarded. The two sheets of Figure 3, folios 97–90 and 96–91, were taken away by Scribe A and used by him to complete the *Prikke* by folding them the reverse way and changing their order, as in Figure 1, folios 90–97, 91–96, in this way utilizing two of the blank leaves.

Facsimiles of a page from the fragment, article 2 (Pl. I), and of a page from the complete text, article 4 (Pl. II), will enable the student to compare the work of three scribes working in the same scriptorium and probably copying from the same manuscript.<sup>1</sup>

As my concern is with the physical makeup of the manuscript and not with textual criticism, I will leave this phase of the inquiry to more competent hands.

One point I wish to make, and that is the fact that an intelligent and complete understanding and an accurate judgment of a text cannot be formed without taking into consideration the relations of the different scribes and articles in the volume the one to the other.

R. B. HASELDEN

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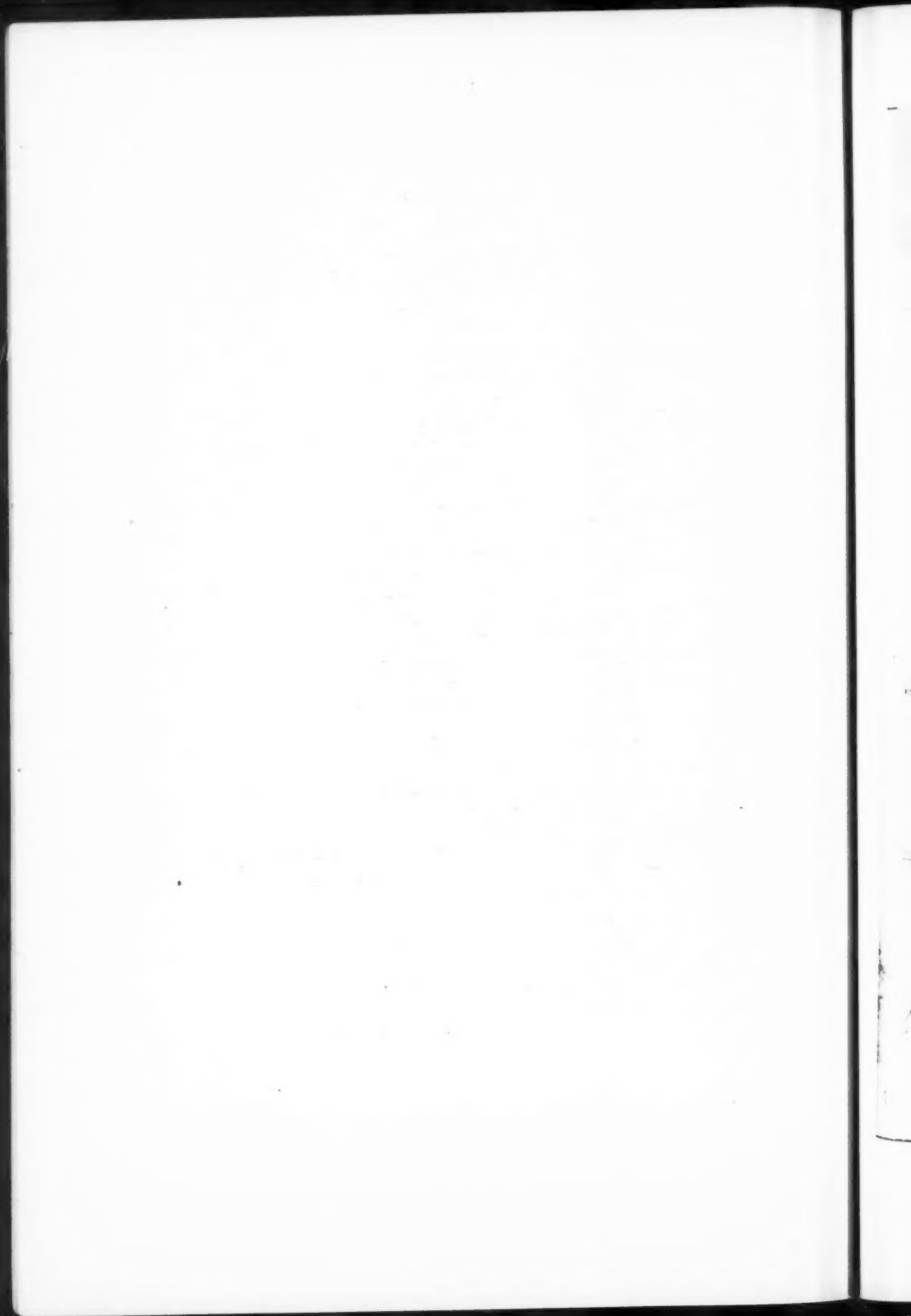
PLATE I

*A fragment of Sirs Roughtman. See the 9. leaf.*

than drede: Went thyghth: and thurme: full  
and brette: hym fte far fere: and his fettes alle:  
Whan fulu far fere: ftege: to the: feres  
and gylde: ftege: hym to god: a gylt far to deye:  
ac macthant: meten Wyth hym: and madden hym abyde:  
and by ftege: hym in her fteoppy: to ftege: her Ware  
appoyden hym as a pte: the: peple to fte  
fute: Wyth: here: the: lepe a Wey thame:  
fute: thurme: lant: luges of many  
he Was nollure Welcome: far his many tales  
onral: v hunte: and y hote: tette:  
tut: pardeners hadde: pte: and pulled: hym to houte:  
the: ftege: hym and Wyppen: hym: and Wonden hym in tette:  
and ftege: hym Wyth ftege: on ftege: to ftege:  
and gaf: pte: for pte: pte: melle aboute:  
thame: londe: lende: and lende: the: fte:  
thame: he ftege: ftege: Wyth: hem: Watter to lde:  
fpece: ftege: Wyth: hym: to afpyen: her Ware:  
fute: he: on: her: tette: and: ftege: many: gome:  
ac: macthant: and: macthant: meten: Wyth: hym: oned:  
and: hende: hym: in: half: yte: and: cille: fte:  
fere: Wyth: ftege: ftege: ftege: hym: thente:  
and: for: ftege: of: ftege: cille: hym: as: a: fte:  
Ac: he: hute: lute: to: lute: out: as: fte: as: hym: ftege:  
and: y: Welcome: Wyth: he: ftege: and: Wyth: Wyth: ftege:  
alle: ftege: for: fte: and: ftege: in: to: ftege:  
Gome: macthant: macthant: macthant: ftege: abyde:  
Ac: tette: to: lute: ftege: ftege: for: ftege:  
And: Wyth: and: Wyth: Wyth: ftege: a: tette:

**Passus tertius de visione**

**A**ll is made the man: and none of him all:  
Wyth: ftege: and: ftege: ftege: ftege: ftege:  
Ac: ftege: ftege: a: ftege: ne: can: y: ftege: ftege:  
To: macthant: macthant: and: macthant: ftege:  
ftege: ftege: macthant: and: ftege: ftege:  
ftege: macthant: macthant: ftege: ftege: ftege:  
And: y: ftege: ftege: ftege: and: macthant: ftege:  
ftege: ftege: ftege: ftege: ftege: ftege:  
ftege: ftege: ftege: ftege: ftege: ftege:



I hadde dede wente wyghtly and warnde fals  
 And bad hym fle for fere and his falshe alle  
 Off to the fere. fle to the feres  
 and gyle doop hym fere go agaste fere dox  
 ac marchantes meten Wyth hym and madden hym abyde  
 And byshetten hym in here schoppes. to schelken here leare  
 Apperayden hym as apurtye the xple to ferue  
 I shall lightly here the sepe avey thame  
 In bynge thorough lanes lugged of manye  
 he was nallure welcome for his manye tales  
 Oual y lymted & thote trusse  
 Iul ydeners haddes xpte and willed hym to hounk  
 They wusshen hym and wuyten hym and wounden hym in clothes  
 And senten hym Wyth felce on poudenayce to cherche  
 And rap ydown for vane. wond melle aboute  
 For thanne londen leches and letters they sente  
 That he sholde wouye Wyth hem. Watres to lobe  
 Spyces spoken Wyth hym. to aspen here Ware  
 for he conde on here craft. and knelt manye yomes  
 I ac mensurals and messageres meten Wyth hym once  
 And helden hym an halfe yere and enlurene dayes  
 I ffere Wyth here fayre speche felyd hym thames  
 and for knellunge of comers couiden hym as a fere  
 In he hath lene to lepen oute as ofte as hym lyeth  
 And so welcome wane he wold. and woneth Wyth hym ofte  
 Alle fleden for fere. and flosben into harnes  
 Sane mede the mayden. nome dursten abyde  
 ac twely to telle. she trembled for drede  
 And wepte and wronge. When she was attached  
 Passus taurus de visione.  
**N**ow is mede the mayde. and nemo of hem alle  
 Wyth gedelles and Wyth baylyfe. brought before the kynge  
 The kyng callede a clerk. he can y nought his name  
 So take mede the mayde. and make here at er  
 I shall assure here my othe. and soyl appose  
 What man wou make. that here were leuofte  
 And in she wende by Wyth. and my Wyll folde  
 y wol serue here this yyl. so me god helpe  
 I curteysly the clerk thame. as the kynge herte  
 took mede by the myddel. and brought here into chambre

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#### THE PROGENY OF A MIRROR FOR MAGISTRATES

WILLIAM BALDWIN and his associates planned *A Mirror for Magistrates*, which after partial printing and thwarted publication in 1554-55 was successfully put into the hands of a reading public in 1559, as an extension of the *Fall of Princes*. The authors were content that it should draw life through its connection with Lydgate's famous version of Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium*, but the *Mirror* eventually manifested a vigorous reproductive life of its own. With no great originality of form, it nevertheless had for English readers the force of fresh discovery in its subject matter. It taught the Elizabethan public—as the drama had not yet done—that British history and legend were a well of tragical story easily to be drawn upon and that tragical moralizing had newly moving appeal when it was brought so closely home as to be appended to the misfortunes of a Richard II or an Owen Glendower. Readers sought more of such tragedy and even demanded a recanvassing of universal history along with the canvassing of such British history as had been neglected. The demand was abundantly supplied by various extensions of Baldwin's book, which are well known through the complete *Mirror* edited by Joseph Haslewood (1815), and by other verse of more fugitive character.

Of the tragical poems which do not appear in Haslewood as part of the extended *Mirror* and which yet may be fairly counted among the progeny of the first *Mirror*, I am able to offer a bibliography obtained in the course of my reading in Elizabethan tragical story for a more general purpose than the study in all strictness of the *Mirror* and its kind. The effect which the *Mirror* was to have upon English literary fashions of the later sixteenth and earlier seventeenth centuries does not begin to make itself plain in such imitation until 1574, the year which saw publication of John Higgins' additions to the *Mirror* itself; it is with that date that my list begins. There were tragical poems produced between 1555 and 1574 which were certainly under the inspiration of Boccaccio and Lydgate but probably did not have addi-

tional inspiration from Baldwin.<sup>1</sup> In general the effect of *A Mirror for Magistrates* ranged all the way from a revival of the medieval fashion for entitling almost any sort of instructive book a "Mirror" to a fashion for close and often avowed imitation of what Baldwin and his compeers had done in tragical story. I am here concerned only with works that show close kinship with the *Mirror*. Many other tragical narratives in verse and many tragedies put upon the Elizabethan stage owe something, more or less, to the *Mirror's* great popularity.<sup>2</sup>

The principle of selection has been determined by a desire to follow the spirit of the *Mirror* as closely as the form. I have chosen those poems which give summary narratives of unfortunate lives in the form of complaints by the subjects themselves, and which show the tragic and moral spirit common to the *De casibus*, the *Fall of Princes*, and the *Mirror* with immediate and particular inspiration from the *Mirror*. Most, but not all, of these tell their tragedies by means of complaining ghosts eloquent in analysis of their own ills. Baldwin and his fellows had conjured up such ghosts where Boccaccio and Lydgate had almost always been content with ghosts who begged recognition but did not tell their own stories. As will be noted duly, some few of the pieces which I have chosen are complaints by the living instead of complaints by the dead. Where I have listed such complaints by the living, I have felt that the effect of the *Mirror* has been to change the very popular form of short complaint into lengthy autobiographic narrative with moral analysis of the subject's unfortunate fall in quite the orthodox fashion of the ghostly complaint.

The list, then, of the progeny of the *Mirror* is as follows. It began with and owes much to the list given by W. F. Trench in *A Mirror for*

<sup>1</sup> See W. F. Trench, *A Mirror for Magistrates: Its Origin and Influence* (1898), pp. 94 ff. As one of these, Trench, without naming Robert Sempill as the commonly accepted author, mentions *The Testament and Tragedie of Umquhile King Henrie Stewart of Gude Memorie* (1567), edited by Sir J. G. Dalyell in *Scottish Poems of the Sixteenth Century* (Edinburgh and London, 1801), pp. 257 ff. Another poem by Sempill, *Ane Tragedie, in Forme of ane Diallog betwix Honour, Gude Fame, and the Authour heirof in ane Trance* (1570), is also edited by Dalyell, pp. 223 ff. See also T. G. Stevenson's edition of *The Sempill Ballades* (Edinburgh, 1872).

<sup>2</sup> For some indication of the *Mirror's* effect upon stage plays see J. W. Cunliffe, *Cambridge History of English Literature*, III, 585; see also my brief studies: "The *Mirror for Magistrates* and Elizabethan Tragedy," *Journal of English and German Philology*, XXV (1926), 66 ff., esp. p. 68 n., and "John Higgins' *Mirror* and *Locrine*," *Modern Philology*, XXIII (1926), 307 ff. For discussion of the *Mirror's* importance when Elizabethan tragedy is studied in relation to the moral philosophy of its day see the first chapter of Lily B. Campbell's *Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes: Slaves of Passion* (Cambridge, 1930). For other relationships see D. A. Stauffer, *English Biography before 1700* (Cambridge, Mass., 1930).

*Magistrates: Its Origin and Influence* (1898),<sup>1</sup> but its aim is somewhat different in that it does not limit itself, as his list does, to the ghostly form of complaint.<sup>2</sup> Those entries which I have marked with an asterisk are not to be found in Trench's essay. Where the entry is of an edition, but not of a work, which he has omitted, I have made the inclusion either because the edition is earlier than one which he notes or because it has important additions to one which he notes. In general, my purpose has been to give more complete and more helpful bibliographical information than Trench has supplied. I have given the original titles in full but have abbreviated and normalized the imprints.

## 1574. RICHARD ROBINSON

The rewarde of Wickednesse Discoursing the sundrye monstrous abuses of wicked and vngodlye worldelinges: in such sort set downe and written as the same haue beene dyuersely practised in the persones of Popes, Harlots, Proude Princes, Tyrauntes, Romish Byshoppes, and others. With a liuely description of their seuerall falles and finall destruction. Veye profitable for all sorte of estates to reade and looke upon. Newly compiled by Richard Robinson, Seruaunt in housholde to the right Honorable Earle of Shrowsbury. A dreame most pitiful, and to be dreaded.

Of thinges that be straunge,  
Who loueth to reede:  
In this Booke let him raunge,  
His fancie to feede.

[Colophon:] By William Williamson: London.

In a dream the author finds himself taken by Morpheus to Pluto's kingdom (cf. Sackville's and Higgins' "Inductions" to the *Mirror*) and there hears the complaints of Helen, Pope Alexander VI, Tarquin, Medea, Tantalus, Vetronius Turinus, Heliogabalus, the two judges who slandered Susanna, Pope Joan, and Rosamond the wife of Albonius. There is other matter concerning the punishment of the wicked.

"Aucthour to the Reader" is dated: "From my Chamber in Sheffield Castle. The xix. of Maie. 1574."

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 106 ff. An earlier list appears in Thomas Warton's *History of English Poetry*, ed. W. Carew Hazlitt (London, 1871), IV, 211 n. Trench's work was privately published (printed at Edinburgh) and is now rather hard to come by. His essay should be consulted for much valuable comment which I do not pretend to supply.

<sup>2</sup> It excludes one work mentioned by Trench, Richard Johnson's *The Nine Worthies of London* (1592), which is not at all tragic, though it has apparitions of the worthies.

## 1575. ULPAN FULWELL

The lamentable Complaint of King James of Scotlande, who was slayne at Scottish Fielde, Anno 1513.

## 1575. ULPAN FULWELL

The Lamentation of King James; Sonne unto King James before mentioned. [The two last-named poems are contained in:]

The Flower of Fame. Containing the bright Renowne, & moste fortunate raigne of King Henry the viii. Wherein is mentioned of matters, by the rest of our Cronographers ouerpassed. Compyled by Ulpian Fulwell. Hereunto is annexed (by the Aucthor) a short treatise of iii. noble and vertuous Queenes. And a discourse of the worthie seruice that was done at Hadington in Scotlande, the seconde yere of the raigne of king Edward the sixt. Viuit post funera virtus. By William Hoskins: London, 1575.

A reprint of *The Flower of Fame* is to be found in *The Harleian Miscellany*, ed. Thomas Park (London, 1812), IX, 337 ff.

The complaints are very brief. Fulwell says that he is imitating the *Mirror*. He indicates its popularity in the opening lines of the first complaint:

Among the rest, whom rewfult fate hath reft,  
Whose shrouding sheetes hath wrapt their woful lyues;  
Why have not I a place among them left,  
Whose fall eche tong with dayly talke reuyves?

## \*1575. THOMAS CHURCHYARD

Syr Symon Burleis Tragedie, Who lived in the xi. yeer of King Richard the second. [Contained in:]

The Firste parte of Churchyardes Chippes, contayning twelue seuerall Labours. Deuised and published, only by Thomas Churchyard Gentilman. By Thomas Marshe: London, 1575.

*The Firste Parte of Churchyardes Chippes* has been reprinted by J. Payne Collier, *Illustrations of Early English Poetry* (London, 1866-70), Vol. II.

Burley at the beginning of his complaint alludes both to the *Mirror* and to its prototypes:

Am I of blud, or yet of byrth, so base,  
O Baldwin! now that thou forgetst my name?  
.....  
Did Bocace live, or Lidgate wright again,  
Sume hope were left my lantern shuld have light.

## \*1576. GEORGE WHETSTONE

The disordered life of Bianca Maria, Countesse of Celaunt, in forme of her complainte, supposed at the houre of her beheading for procuring the murder of Ardisino Valperga, Earle of Massino. [Contained in:]

The Rocke of Regard, diuided into foure parts. The first, the Castle of delight: Wherin is reported, the wretched end of wanton and dissolute liuing. The second, the Garden of Vnthriftnesse: Wherein are many sweete flowers, (or rather fancies) of honest loue. The thirde, the Arbour of Vertue: Wherein slaunder is highly punished, and vertuous Ladies and Gentlewomen, worthily commended. The fourth, the Orchard of Repentance: Wherein are discoursed, the miseries that followe dicing, the mischiefes of quareling, the fall of prodigality: and the souden ouerthrowe of foure notable cousners, with diuers other morall, natural, & tragical discourses: documents and admonitions: being all the inuention, collection and translation of George Whetstone Gent. Formæ nulla fides. [Colophon:] For Robert Waley: London, 1576.

*The Rocke of Regard* has been reprinted by J. Payne Collier, *Illustrations of Early English Poetry* (London, 1866-70), Vol. II.

Bianca's complaint is much longer and more the definitely developed tragic story than the complaint of Cressid, which immediately follows it and which I have not seen fit to include. Both are complaints of the living, though at the point of death, but Bianca goes through a process, similar to that so commonly followed by the ghosts in the *Mirror*, of recording first her rise to "weare dame Fortunes crowne" and then her "filthie fall." She begins with words which apparently ask comparison for her story with the famous stories of the *Mirror* and their kind:

Among their falles, by wanton fate untwist,  
Let my lewde hap remembred be I pray.

Whetstone thus gives this story from Bandello a form quite different from that given by his English predecessors, Fenton and Painter. See E. Koeppl, *Studien zur Geschichte der italienischen Novelle*, "Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker," LXX (1892), 31, 89.

## \*1579. THOMAS CHURCHYARD

A pitefull complaint, in maner of a Tragedie, of Seignior Anthonio dell Dondaldoes wife, somtyme in the duke of Florences Courte: Translated out of Italian prose, and putte into Englishe verse.

## \*1579. THOMAS CHURCHYARD

A heauie matter of a Englishe gentleman, and a gentlewoman, in maner of a Tragedie: whiche gentlewoman called her freende the wanderyng Prince.

## \*1579. THOMAS CHURCHYARD

A Pirates Tragedie, beyng a gentleman of a verie good house: Made at the request of Maister Peter Caroe, Capitaine of Laughlin in Irelande: and sette out to shewe the miserable life of a Rouer, whose wretched desire of other mens goodes, bringes open shame, and a violente death. [The three last-named poems are contained in:]

A generall rehearsall of warres, wherein is fue hundred seuerall seruices of land and sea: as sieges, battailes, skirmiches, and encounters. A thousand gentle mennes names, of the best sort of warriours. A praise and true honour of Soldiours: A prooffe of Perfite Nobilitie. A triall and first erection of Heraldes: A discourse of calamitie. And ioyned to the same some Tragedies and Epitaphes, as many as was necessarie for this first booke. All whiche woorkes are dedicated to the right honourable sir Christopher Hatton knight, vize Chamberlain, Captain of the gard: & one of the Queenes maiesties priuie counsail. Written by Thomas Churchyard Gentleman. Edward White: London [n.d.].

Of the three poems the *Pirates Tragedie* has the manner of the *Mirror* most closely. The ghost of the wretched man appears to Churchyard in a dream with "horie beard and scorched face" to tell his misfortune and to warn others not to place their necks within the hemp. The other two poems bewail Fortune's fickleness; they are said to have the tragic manner and are obviously intended by the author to be tragic in the right medieval sense, though the subjects are represented as still alive when they make their complaints.

The book has *Churchyardes Choise* for running title and is dated at the end of the "Epistle Dedicatorie" 2579, misprint for 1579.

## 1579. ANTHONY MUNDAY

The Mirrour of Mutabilitie, or Principall part of the Mirrour for Magistrates. Describing the fall of diuers famous Princes, and other memorable Personages. Selected out of the sacred Scriptures by Antony Munday, and dedicated to the Right Honorable the Earle of

Oxenford. Honos alit Artes. By Iohn Allde sold by Richard Ballard: London, 1579.

This is a schematic collection of stories. The Seven Deadly Sins are represented in the complaints of King Nebuchadnezzar, pride; King Herod, envy; King Pharaoh, wrath; King David, lechery; Dives, gluttony; Judas, avarice; Jonah, sloth. Other faults are represented in the complaints of Absalom, Tryphon, Ahab, Jephthah, Samson, Solomon, Amnon, Adonijah, Ptolemeus Philometor, Jezebel, and Zedekiah.

1592. SAMUEL DANIEL

Delia. Contayning certayne Sonnets: with the complaint of Rosamond. Aetas prima canat veneres postrema tumultus. By I. C. for Simon Waterson: London, 1592.

*The Complaint of Rosamond* has been edited by A. B. Grosart in *The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel* ("Spenser Society Series" [London, 1885]), I, 81 ff., the text based on the quarto of 1623. It has been reprinted from the first edition by J. Payne Collier, London, 1870.

The poem was helped to popularity by the fact that it dealt with the mistress of an English king (Henry II), a subject out of the ordinary in the tradition of the *Mirror*, though Churchyard had preceded it with his story of Jane Shore in the 1563 edition of the *Mirror* itself. Rosamond's ghost pleads that she has been neglected while Shore's wife has been remembered, and that her story must be told to pitying lovers before her soul can go on to happier realms.

1592. WILLIAM WYRLEY

The Glorious Life and Honorable Death of Sir Iohn Chandos, Lord of Saint Saluiour, le Vicount, great seneschall of Poyctow, high constable of Aquitaine, Knight of the honorable order of the Garter, elected by the first founder king Edward the third at his institution thereof.

1592. WILLIAM WYRLEY

The Honorable Life and Languishing Death of Sir Iohn de Gralhy Capitall De Buz, one of the Knights elected by the first founder of the Garter into that noble order, And sometime one of the principall Gouvernors of Guyen, Ancestor to the French King that now is. [The two last-named poems contained in:]

The True Vse of Armorie, Shewed by Historie, and plainly proued by example: the necessitie thereof also discouered: with the maner

of differings in ancient time, the lawfulness of honorable funerals and monuments: with other matters of Antiquitie, incident to the aduaucing of Banners, Ensignes, and marks of noblenesse and cheualrie, by William Wyrley. I. Iackson for Gabriell Cawood: London, 1592.

This has been reprinted for J. G. Bell, London, 1853. Selections from the poem on Chandos have been printed by Sir Egerton Brydges in *Censura literaria* (London, 1815), II, 41 ff.

Each poem is a lengthy complaint upon Fortune by the unfortunate subject. Together the two tragedies take up a major portion of the book. Chandos is made to talk of the "eternal praise" won by the authors of the *Mirror* and of his hope that his own b'iss and bale would be told by them (stanza 10).

1593. THOMAS CHURCHYARD

The Earle of Murtons Tragedie.

1593. THOMAS CHURCHYARD

Sir Simon Burleis Tragedie.

1593. THOMAS CHURCHYARD

Heere follows the Tragedie of Shores Wife, much augmented with diuers new aditions.

\*1593. THOMAS CHURCHYARD

A Tragicall Discourse of a dolorous Gentlewoman, dedicated to all those Ladyes that holde good names precious. [The four last-named poems contained in:]

Churchyards Challenge. By Iohn Wolfe: London, 1593.

*Syr Symon Burleis Tragedie* had been put out by Churchyard in his *Chippes* (1575), as I have noted. *Shores Wife* had appeared in the *Mirror* of 1563, and Churchyard now redresses it, as he says in his "Epistle to the Lady Mount Eagle and Compton," for a very good reason: "Because Rosimond is so excellently sette forth . . . I haue somewhat beautified my Shores Wife." (See 1592. SAMUEL DANIEL.) Also, people have doubted that he could have written the poem. "Yet I protest before God and the world," he swears, "the penning of Shores wife was mine, desiring in my hart that all the plagues in the world may possesse me, if any holpe either with scrowle or counsell."

The tragedy of Morton, like that of Burley, is very much in the manner of the *Mirror*. The "tragical discourse" is like two poems in *Churchyardes Choise* (1579), which I have listed; the unfortunate bewails her calamity while

yet alive. Though one does not meet in this last poem the typical ghost of the *Mirror*, one does find a lengthy complaint (pp. 230-53) anatomizing the misfortunes of a gentlewoman who is a sort of Shore's wife in a less heroic and more promiscuous way; also, one finds the moral and warning note of the *Mirror*. The tragic fall might be called "domestic."

## 1593. ANTHONY CHUTE

Beawtie dishonoured written vnder the Title of Shores Wife. Chascun se plaist ou il se trouue mieux. By Iohn Wolfe: London, 1593.

The dedication is signed "A. C." Extracts from the poem are given in Thomas Warton's *History of English Poetry*, ed. W. Carew Hazlitt (London, 1871), IV, 212. Shore's wife (repentant while she is "at the last gaspe") is made to narrate the story of her misfortunes once more. Churchyard is thus somewhat justified in his anxious concern to get credit for discovering this popular subject.

## 1593. THOMAS LODGE

Phillis: Honoured with Pastorall Sonnets, Elegies, and amorous delights. Where-vnto is annexed, the tragicall complaint of Elstred. Iam Phœbus disiungit equos, iam Cinthia iungit. For Iohn Busbie: London, 1593.

The Epistle Dedicatory is signed: "Tho: Lodge." The *Complaint of Elstred* is reprinted in *The Complete Works of Thomas Lodge* ("Hunterian Club Series" [Glasgow, 1883]), Vol. II. It is one of the best and most interesting poems of its kind. That in popular estimation it was associated with the story of Shore's wife and the fashion for relating the falls of famous royal mistresses is shown by a reference made by Giles Fletcher. See the next poem listed.

## 1593. GILES FLETCHER

Licia, or Poemes of Love, In Honour of the admirable and singular vertues of his Lady, to the imitation of the best Latin Poets, and others. Whereunto is added the Rising to the Crowne of Richard the third. Auxit musarum numerum Sappho addita musis. Fœlix si sævus, sic voluisset Amor.

"To the Reader" is dated "Septemb. 8. 1593."

*The Rising to the Crowne of Richard the Third* has been reprinted by A. B. Grosart in *Licia and other Love-Poems by Giles Fletcher*, "Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library," Vol. III (1871).

The poem is brief (pp. 69-80 of the first edition). In it Fletcher refers to the popular complaints dealing with the falls of royal mistresses, mentioning Rosamond (1592), Shore's wife (doubtless as she appeared in Churchyard's augmented version of 1593), and Elstred (1593). These three women had notable falls, Richard III is made to say, but none had such a fall as his own:

Nor weepe I nowe as children that have lost,  
But smyle to see the Poets of this age:  
Like silly boates in shallow rivers tost,  
Loosing their paynes, and lacking still their wage.  
To write of women and of womens falles,  
Who are too light, for to be fortunes balls.

1594 (?). MICHAEL DRAYTON

Peirs Gaueston, Earle of Cornwall his life, death, and fortune.  
Effugiunt audios Carmina sola rogos. I. R. for N. L. and Iohn Busby:  
[London, n.d., but entered December 3, 1593.]

Gaveston comes from the gloomy shadow of eternal night to sigh the familiar story of his downfall.

1594. MICHAEL DRAYTON

Matilda. The faire and chaste Daughter of the Lord Robert Fitzwater. The True Glorie of the Noble House of Sussex. Phœbus erit nostri princeps, et carminis author. By Iames Roberts for N. L. and Iohn Busby: London, 1594.

Matilda, as a woman who refused to become a king's mistress, pleads that she is far more worthy of attention than Rosamond, Shore's wife, or Elstred.

\*1594. SAMUEL DANIEL

Delia and Rosamond augmented. Cleopatra. By Samuel Daniel. *Ætas prima canat veneres postrema tumultus.* For Simon Waterson: London, 1594. [*Colophon:*] By Iames Roberts and Edward Allde, for Simon Waterson.

This adds twenty-three stanzas to the first edition (1592) of *Rosamond*.

1596. MICHAEL DRAYTON

The Tragicall Legend of Robert, Duke of Normandy, surnamed Short-thigh, eldest sonne to William Conqueror. With the Legend of Matilda the chast, daughter to the Lord Robert Fitzwater, poysoned by King Iohn. And the Legend of Piers Gaueston; the great

Earle of Cornwall: and mighty fauorite of king Edward the second. By Michael Drayton. The latter two, by him newly corrected and augmented. Ia. Roberts for N. L.: London, 1596.

Drayton's *Legends* have been reprinted in *The Works of the English Poets from Chaucer to Cowper*, ed. Alexander Chalmers (London, 1810), Vol. IV; they have also been reprinted in Drayton's *Poems*, ed. C. E. Simms ("Spenser Society Series" [Manchester, 1888]). His *Legend of Cromwell*, published in 1607, was included in Niccols' *Mirror* (1610).

The tragedy of Robert has better conception and execution than most of its kind. Its method is somewhat unusual in that the story is told largely by Fame and Fortune, who lead the ghost of the blind and suffering Robert between them. Fortune is fickle and carefree, while Fame is tender and loving to the wronged man. The poet hears and sees all one morning when he walks forth to relieve his melancholy.

#### 1599. THOMAS STORER

The Life and Death of Thomas Wolsey Cardinall. Diuided into three parts: His 

{	Aspiring Triumph, and Death.	}
---	------------------------------------	---

 By Thomas Storer Student of Christchurch in Oxford. Thomas Dawson: London, 1599.

This has been reprinted in *Heliconia. Comprising a Selection of English Poetry of the Elizabethan Age: Written or Published between 1575 and 1604*, ed. T. Park (London, 1815), Vol. II.

It is an ambitious piece of work, longer and better dressed than the usual tragic complaint. Wolsey tells his story in much detail.

#### 1601. JOHN WEEVER

The Mirror of Martyrs, or The life and death of that thrice valiant Capitaine, and most godly Martyre Sir Iohn Old-castle knight Lord Cobham. V. S. for William Wood: [London,] 1601.

The dedication, which is signed "Io. Weever," states that the poem was completed some two years before its date of publication.

The shade of Oldcastle speaks of his martyrdom, asking Mercury to be the bearer of his story from Elysium.

#### \*1609. GERVASE MARKHAM

The Famous Whore, or Noble Curtizan: Containing the lamentable complaint of Paulina, the famous Roman Curtizan, sometimes M<sup>cs</sup>.

vnto the great Cardinall Hypolito, of Est. By Garuis Markham. By N. O. for Iohn Budge: London, 1609.

This, I understand, was reprinted privately in 1868 by Frederic Ouvry of the Society of Antiquaries for circulation among his friends. The reprint seems to be extremely rare.

Paulina tells the story of her misfortunes "to shew to beauties haire how beauty fell," but she is represented as still alive. She ends with more of her moral warning in the tradition of the *Mirror*:

My woes to others may as myrrors stand,  
And my life giue example to our land.

#### 1613. THOMAS SAMPSON

Fortunes Fashion, Pourtrayed in the troubles of the Ladie Elizabeth Gray, wife to Edward the Fourth. Written by Tho. Sampson. For William Iones: London, 1613.

Selections are given by Sir Egerton Brydges in *Censura literaria* (London, 1815), II, 359 ff.

At the end of the "Argument" Sampson says: "You see her newly risen out of her graue, and in the extremity of her grieve speaking as followeth."

#### 1614. CHRISTOPHER BROOKE

The Ghost of Richard the Third. Expressing himselfe in these three Parts.

- { 1. His Character
- { 2. His Legend
- { 3. His Tragedie

Containing more of him than hath been heretofore shewed: either in Chronicles, Playes, or Poems. Laurea Desidiæ præbetur nulla. G. Eld for L. Lisle: [London,] 1614.

This has been reprinted by A. B. Grosart, *The Complete Poems of Christopher Brooke*, "Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library," Vol. IV (1872). Grosart says that Collier's reprint for the Shakespeare Society (1844) is incorrect in almost every line.

#### 1616. RICHARD NICCOLS

Sir Thomas Overburies Vision With the ghoasts of Weston, M<sup>rs</sup>: Turner, the late Liefenant of the Tower, and Franklin. By R. N. Oxon. In pœnam insectatur & umbra. For R. M. & T. I., 1616.

This has been reprinted in *The Harleian Miscellany*, ed. T. Park (London, 1811), VII, 178 ff., and also by J. Maidment, "Hunterian Club Series" (Glasgow, 1873).

Niccols, who alludes (p. 17) to his having written for the *Mirror* the woeful fates of "Our Brittain Princes," here makes Sir Thomas tell how he was poisoned in the Tower some three years before. Then he has the ghosts of the guilty ones rise to repent of their acts.

#### 1622. PATRICK HANNAY

Sheretine and Mariana. By Patricke Hannay Gent. By Iohn Haviland for Nathaniel Butter: London, 1622.

This has been reprinted in Hannay's *Poetical Works*, "Hunterian Club Series" (Glasgow, 1875).

The story is a sentimental domestic tragedy of two Hungarian lovers. Sheretine is grief-stricken when he thinks Mariana faithless and thus comes to his death. Mariana slays herself, but finds that her ghost is not free until she can tell the story. Hannay is obviously following the familiar fashion of ghostly complaint set by the *Mirror*, but just as obviously he belongs to an age that is getting away from the *Mirror* and all that it stands for.

#### 1628. SIR FRANCIS HUBERT

The Deplorable Life and Death of Edward the Second, King of England. Together with the Downefall of the two Vnfortunate Faurorits, Gavestone and Spencer. Storied in an Excellent Poem. For Roger Mitchell: London, 1628.

See the next entry, under 1629.

#### \*1629. SIR FRANCIS HUBERT

The Historie of Edward The Second. Surnamed Carnarvan, one of our English Kings. Together with the Fatall down-fall of his two vnfortunate Favorites Gaveston and Spencer. Now Published by the Author thereof, according to the true Originall Copie and purged from those foule Errors and Corruptions wherewith that spurious and surreptitious Peece, which lately came forth vnder the same Tytle, was too much defiled, and deformed. With the Addition of some other Observations both of vse and Ornament. By F. H. Knight. By B. A. and T. F. for L. Chapman: London, 1629.

Selections are given by Sir Egerton Brydges in *Restituta* (London, 1814-16), I, 92 ff.

I enter this ambitious and in many ways praiseworthy poem under its dates of publication, though by the testimony of the author it was in existence long before. In the dedication of the 1629 edition to his brother Richard, he says of his work:

It is surely of full Age, for it was conceiued and borne in Queene Elizabeths time, but grew to more maturitie in King IAME's; and therefore, (as wee vse to say) It should be now able to shift for It selfe: But I that gaue It life, finding the weaknesse thereof, was fully resolved to keepe It still at home vnder mine owne wing, and not to let It see the Sunne, when loe, (after Twenty yeares concealement) when I thought the vnfortunate Babe (like to It's Father) euen dead to the World, I saw the false and vncomely Picture of my poore child (taken by a most vnskilfull hand) offered to the publicke sight and censure of euery judicious Eye.

The 1628 edition has 580 stanzas, and the 1629 has 664. In 1629 Hubert appends a short moral poem to the story of Edward: "The Authors Noli peccare," beginning "Forbeare to Sinne: God hath thee still in sight." He makes verbal changes in those stanzas that appeared in 1628.

*The Historie of Edward the Second* is not completely in the *Mirror's* form of ghostly complaint. It attempts something of the epic and something of the medieval tragic manner, as the fifth stanza will serve to indicate:

It is thy sad disaster which I sing  
*Carnarvan Edward*: Second of that name,  
 Thy Minions pride, thy States ill-managing,  
 Thy Peeres revolt, the sequell of the same,  
 Thy Life, thy Death I sing, thy Sin, thy Shame;  
 And how thou wert depriued of thy Crowne.  
 In highest fortunes, cast by Fortune downe.

One reason why it did not get published earlier probably shows itself in the tenth stanza:

And thou great King that now do'st weild our State,  
 Building on that, which former times did square;  
 O let it not be thought to derogate  
 From thy perfections (admirably rare)  
 If I some errours of these Times declare.  
 "Since neuer State was so precisely good,  
 But faults haue scap'd, which could not be withstood."

In addition to the foregoing works, for which dates of printed publication allow arrangement in fairly correct chronological order, the following, which were printed by nineteenth-century editors from manuscript and which can be dated only approximately, must also be listed.

\*JOHN HIGGINS (?)

Nennius, a worthy Briton, the very Pattern of a valiant, noble, and faithful Subject, encountering with Julius Caesar, at his first coming into this Island, was by him Death-wounded: yet nevertheless got Caesar's Sword, put him to Flight, slew therewith Labienus, a Tribune of the Romans, endured Fight till his Countreymen won the Battle, died fifteen days after: and now encourageth all good Subjects to defend their Country from the Power of foreign and usurping Enemies. About the Year before Christ. 52.

I take the title and all my information from *The Harleian Miscellany*, ed. T. Park (London, 1811), VIII, 87 ff., where the poem is published. The work appeared in Higgins' *Mirror* (1574 and later editions) (Haslewood, I, 230 ff.), but there are several verbal differences between Haslewood's text and this, which may make entry of Park's publication worth while. An envoy appearing in Haslewood is lacking here. Park shows by his note that he did not know of the version in Higgins' *Mirror*.

RICHARD WILLIAMS

The Complaynte of Anthonye Babington, sometyne of lyncolnes Inne, Esquier, whoe, with others, weare executed for highe treason In the feildes nere lyncolns Inne, the xix<sup>th</sup> of September, Anno . . . 1586.

This has been printed by F. J. Furnivall in *A Poore Mans Pittance*, by Richard Williams. Edited from the author's autograph MS, "Ballads from Manuscripts" (London, 1868), Vol. II, Part I. The MS I have not seen.

The ballad seems to have been written not long after 1592, because Babington alludes to Rosamond as lately among those who have been allowed to tell their woes:

And late fayre rosamonde hathe complaynde,  
That long synce was forgott.

The author is visited by Morpheus in a dream and is taken to London bridge, where he sees fourteen heads, one of them Babington's. Babington died unrepentant as a Catholic conspirator, but he now begs the author to tell his story as a lesson to all. He was no peer, it is true, but he "presumed with the beste." (He was accused of plotting against the Queen's life.)

THOMAS WENMAN (?)

The Legend of Mary, Queen of Scotland.

This has been printed by J. Fry in *The Legend of Mary, Queen of Scots, and Other Ancient Poems; Now First Published from MSS of the Sixteenth Century*

(London, 1810). I am not acquainted with the MS, which the editor says he obtained from a friend. His assignment to Wenman is doubtful.

The author seems to think that he is writing in a fading tradition. He makes Mary's ghost begin the complaint with an alarum:

Baldwyn awake, thie penn hath slept to longe;  
Ferris is dead; state cares staie Sackvills ease;  
Theise latter witts delighte in pleasant songe.

The poem may be dated earlier than 1608 by this reference to Sackville, who died in that year. Fry dates it 1601.

The progeny of the *Mirror*, as should be plain even in such a bare outline of their character as I have given, do not usually demand resurrection for the general reader. But, along with the stories in the *Mirror* itself, they do demand more than has been accorded to them of analysis and interpretation by those who would understand the formation of Elizabethan stage tragedy.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Something of such analysis and interpretation is to be included in a study of medieval and Elizabethan tragedy which I have undertaken.

SPENSER'S CONNECTIONS WITH THE LETTERS IN  
GABRIEL HARVEY'S "LETTER-BOOK"

MISS JOSEPHINE BENNETT'S article, "Spenser and Gabriel Harvey's *Letter-Book*,"<sup>1</sup> is valuable for its account of the grouping and probable dates of the materials contained in the document, and also for its description of certain revisions made by Harvey which were not adequately indicated in the text of the "Letter-Book" edited by E. J. L. Scott for the Camden Society in 1884. A number of the conclusions drawn by Miss Bennett from these facts are, however, open to question.

Miss Bennett believes that Scott's description of four letters drafted in the "Letter-Book" (fols. 34v.-70) as in a section containing "drafts of Gabriel's verses, and of his correspondence with Edmund Spenser, under the feigned name of Immerito, or Benevolo,"<sup>2</sup> has led not only Grosart but all subsequent students of Spenser to draw unwarranted conclusions about Harvey and Spenser and to believe that all four letters were addressed exclusively to Spenser, through a failure to observe any relation between six sentences in a letter addressed to a "Mr. Wood" (fol. 101v. of the "Letter-Book") and two short passages in the third letter of this group.

Though Scott's editorial practices would not now be considered ideal, his sins are in some instances a little overstressed by Miss Bennett.<sup>3</sup> He precedes her in clearly calling attention to the repetition of ideas from the third letter of the group in the letter addressed to "Mr. Wood," devoting one of the seventeen pages of his preface to a treatment of the third letter as being in its entirety an actual "letter from Harvey to Mr. Wood,"—an idea which has probably been rejected, rather than never entertained, by Spenser students, for reasons which I shall show.

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Philology*, XXIX (1931), 163-86.      <sup>2</sup> Preface, p. vi.

<sup>3</sup> For example, he does not omit, but transcribes on pp. 100-101, the reference to a certain translation from Cato; and he has probably given us a better reading than Miss Bennett's (p. 170 n.) for this; and he inserts the "great travelour" passage just where it seems to belong, pp. 100-101. One scrawl at that point is left out, but it is unintelligible.

Miss Bennett, however, goes beyond Scott in assigning to "Mr. Wood" (whom she identifies with John Wood, nephew and amanuensis of Sir Thomas Smith), all four letters of the group (fols 35v.-49v.) and in linking Wood with the "J. W." whose initials appear in the extreme left margin of the title-page for a proposed edition of Harvey's *Verlayes* (fol. 48v.), and also with the "Benevolo" of that title-page and of the insertions in the first letter. Her theory is, briefly, that the first letter (fols. 35v.-38v.), in which Harvey playfully accuses someone whom he three times calls "E. S. de London," and also "Immerito," of having caused the publication of Harvey's *Verlayes* and some other pieces, was "the beginning and end of a day-dream in which Harvey imagined that one of his friends, Spenser for convenience, had published the *Verlayes*."<sup>1</sup> Though "E. S. de London" is retained three times and "Immerito" once, the cancel of one "Immerito" for "Benevolo" and the insertion of a salutation, "Magnifico Signor Benevolo," and of one "Benivolenza" she construes as indicating an intention to transfer the whole letter, and with it the publishing scheme, to John Wood as "Benevolo." To him she assigns also the second letter (fols. 40-41v.), concerning Harvey's Commencement oration and repeating in reduced and generalized form much of the "E. S. de London" letter, including the obligation concerning the whiskers of "E. S."; the third letter (fols. 42v.-43), concerning the decline of interest in classical learning at Cambridge and the increase of interest in modern subjects, with some remarks on scholars' opportunities as compared with those of courtiers and lawyers; the fourth letter (fols. 45-47v.), criticizing a "letter, or bill of complaint," with reference to the correspondent's theory of the elements as making up the universe, his lament over the false and treacherous world, the mutability of nature and of life, the degeneracy of this age as compared with the first, or golden, age, and his belief that "reason now contrary to reason and old custom is forced to yield obedience to the senses and to appetite." When, where, and how John Wood discussed any of the topics in any of these letters does not appear, nor, indeed, any of his views on anything; but, because Miss Bennett's article is well written, it seems worth while to examine the claims of this amanuensis to be the person addressed by Harvey in these four letters

and chosen by him as sponsor of at least two projected publications.

Though her chief emphasis is on the transfer of the publishing schemes to Wood, Miss Bennett, at the beginning and at the end of her article, objects to my interpretation<sup>1</sup> of the fourth of these letters as a comment by Harvey upon Spenser's views expressed in the Mutability cantos and elsewhere, and as possibly explaining both Harvey's early contemptuous attitude toward parts of *The Faerie Queene*, which he returned with criticism (as seen in his published letter of April 23, 1580),<sup>2</sup> and Spenser's seeming abandonment of the cantos on Mutability except for a few fragments apparently recast from them and published in the minor poems and in Book V of *The Faerie Queene*.

Since no reason is adduced by Miss Bennett for supposing Wood interested in the philosophic matters discussed in the fourth letter, and since she assigns that to him, apparently, only because she has decided to tie it up in the same bundle with the other three, let us reserve discussion of the content of that letter until after we have examined her more tangible reasons for supposing the other three to be connected with John Wood.

It should be clearly understood, however, that there is no necessary or direct interlinking of any of the four letters under discussion, except that the second is quite obviously in part a reduced and generalized version of the first, brought into connection with a new occasion, the Commencement oration of Harvey. The third letter is unrelated by content to the first two, and also to the fourth. The fourth stands quite apart as to materials. It has no reference or allusion to the publishing devices of the first or second letters, no reference to Wood, or to J. W., or to Immerito or Benevolo, or to lawyers or to Inns of Court. And Miss Bennett herself admits (p. 181) that she is unable to find any place for it in her scheme for publication:

<sup>1</sup> "Spenser's Reasons for Rejecting the Mutability Cantos," *Studies in Philology*, XXV (1928), 93-127. No argument being based upon the third letter, I did not discuss Scott's idea that it belonged to Wood, though I had mentally rejected it for the reasons which I show here. Discussion of the publishing hoax as such was omitted because irrelevant to my purpose and previously treated in my dissertation.

<sup>2</sup> *The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser*, ed. J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt (Oxford, 1924), p. 628. Unless otherwise indicated, subsequent references to Spenser's writings are to this edition, under the short title, *Poetical Works*.

Curiously enough, there does not seem to be any plan in the *Letter-Book* for the publication of this fourth letter. It may have been abandoned hastily, either in August or in March, and for either of the reasons that I have suggested. But, in any case, it appears in the very midst of a group of literary compositions obviously intended for publication only, and there is nothing to indicate that it differs in purpose from the compositions surrounding it.

But what are the "compositions surrounding it"? Its nearest neighbor is what is accepted as a transcript of a genuine letter, of August 22, 1578, to Harvey from William Fulke (fol. 48). The body of the Mutability letter precedes this Fulke letter, on the back of which (fol. 48v.) is drafted the Verlayes title-page, dated originally March 1, 1580. The next right-hand page (fol. 49) contains a few additional remarks on the elements as making up the universe, apparently intended for the Mutability letter. The nearest whole composition preceding the Mutability letter is that third letter (fols. 42v.-43) which Miss Bennett regards as a first draft of a letter "actually sent to Wood"; but intervening between the third letter and the fourth we find a blank page (fol. 43v.), small additions to the second letter (fol. 44), and then another blank page (fol. 44v.). If immediate proximity means anything (and I am not sure that it is safe to suppose it does in so disorderly a notebook), it should suggest that the fourth letter was either a transcript or a rough draft of a real letter. If intended for Spenser's eye, it would not necessarily ever be copied out and posted; for both the first letter of this group, to "E. S de London," reproaching him for causing the publication of the Verlayes, and the Preface to the Reader in *Three Proper and Wittie Familiar Letters* (alleging that those letters were "copied out at Immeritoes handes") indicate that Spenser in 1579-80 had free access to Harvey's papers. The *Three . . . Letters* was registered for publication on June 30, 1580.

As neither content nor physical position indicates any necessary relation between the letter on Mutability and the three before it in the "Letter-Book," it follows that, if there were any good reason for thinking that the first letter with its publishing hoax was transferred to another than Spenser, it might be so transferred to anyone, and the second and third letters might also be construed as having been addressed to that person without in the slightest way affecting the probabilities as to who was addressed in the Mutability letter, which

must be considered separately and studied as to the probability that the proposed recipient had expressed to Harvey the views there criticized.

Let us examine the reasons for supposing that the publishing hoax was transferred from Spenser to Wood as sponsor. Miss Bennett's large conclusions have their starting-point in a small and comparatively formal letter which she discusses but does not quote from the "Letter-Book" (fol. 101v.):

Good Mr. Wood, communicate sum part of your courtly affayres, and especially newes, if ye have any, with your poore freinds in Cambridg. Inioyne me twice as mutch any way, and I will do my endevoyr to requite your courtesy. Schollars ar now Aristippi rather then Diogenes; they would fayne be sumwhat more then schollars, if they could tell howe. And of all things we cannot abide that spitefull proverb of y<sup>e</sup> Greatist Clarks. The date whereof, I take it, was out when Duns and Tomas were abandonid y<sup>e</sup> schooles. Marry yet (we must not deny it) we ar to take instructions and advertisements at you courtiers hands, that ar better trainid and experiencid in matters of counsell "wisdum" and pollycey, then we schollars ar. For my self I take it on great part of my fælicity, that I have a Mr. Wood in y<sup>e</sup> Court that can sufficiently and will gladly, &c.

I would fayne have endid this period at y<sup>e</sup> least, but y<sup>e</sup> tyme curtolid it of in y<sup>e</sup> midst. Habes non copiae sed inopiae nostrae cornu.

This letter is described by Miss Bennett (p. 177) as a "copy of the letter which he actually sent to Wood." It could not, of course, be sent as it stands, lacking the completion of the one personal sentence—the sixth—as well as date and signature. Aside from a request for news, the letter seems to have no real message such as would occasion its being sent. And the generalizations on scholars and courtiers so abruptly introduced seem oddly uncalled for.<sup>1</sup>

"Whatever the 'inner history' of this third letter may have been, there is no reason for connecting Spenser's name with it," says Miss Bennett (p. 177). But there is a very cogent reason for connecting Spenser with it, though this was overlooked by both Miss Bennett and the editor of the "Letter-Book." The letter addressed to Wood (fol.

<sup>1</sup> Harvey wrote generalizations akin to these in his *marginalia* on *Oikonomia* in 1580, concerning the vanity of learning not put into public practice, the Prince's court as the only mart of preferment and honor, the end of all education in action, the need that every scholar, youth, and courtier learn his lesson in the world, and the holding in contempt of the name of "a good scholar" (*Marginalia*, ed. G. C. Moore Smith, pp. 141, 145, 147, 149, 151).

101v.) contains no trace of the chief and central topic of the third letter—a disquisition on the state of learning and the intellectual fads at Cambridge. Harvey asks his correspondent, in the third letter: "Shall I hazarde a litle farther: and make you privy to all our privities indeede. Thou knoist *Non omnibus dormio et tibi habeo non huic.*" Not Wood, but Spenser, his fellow-student at Cambridge, was to receive the specific news of this third letter; for we find it redrafted in Harvey's Earthquake letter of April 7, 1580, entered for publication June 30—a letter showing several points of contact with letters and with more purely literary material in the "Letter-Book." The promise of the third letter to reveal "our privities" is echoed in the Earthquake letter thus: *Det mihi Mater ipsa bonam veniam, eius ut aliqua mihi liceat Secreta, uni cuidam de eodem gremio obsequentissimo filio, reuelare: et sic paucis habeto.*<sup>1</sup> There are other little echoes, such as the postscript, *Non multis dormio: non multis scribo: non cupio placere multis. . . . Verbum sapienti sat*, with which compare the *Non omnibus dormio* passage above, and the tag, *Verbum intelligenti sat*, on folio 43 of the third letter.

In redrafting for publication in the Earthquake letter the passage from the third letter on the intellectual status of Cambridge, Harvey retains every essential point: the decline of interest at Cambridge in the reading of Aristotle in the original; the growth of interest in foreign courtesy books, especially Spanish and Italian; the increased interest in modern Italian treatises on government and politics, and also in Turkish discourses. Only a few details are omitted, and others are elaborated. To Spenser he writes, "Aristotle much named, but little read," and he introduces new detail to illustrate the state of Latin and Greek learning at Cambridge. With regard to the enthusiasm for French and Italian, he uses four of the writers discussed in the third letter; and he makes more pointed the idea that the rise of interest in modern languages and current information is connected with the decline of interest in the classics:

*Matchiauell* a great man: *Castilio* of no small reputation: *Petrarch* and *Boccace* in euery mans mouth: *Galateo*, and *Guazzo* neuer so happy; ouer many acquainted with *Vnico Aretino*: The French and Italian when so highlye regarded of Schollers? The Latine and Greeke, when so lightly? . . . *Turkische affaires* familiarly known.

<sup>1</sup> "Three Proper Wittie . . . Letters," *Poetical Works*, p. 620.

The logical conclusion is that the third letter was either one originally intended for Spenser or else a sort of copy-book essay from which letter material might be drawn. Harvey's habits were those of a rhetorician. Nothing shows certainly whether the letter addressed to Wood was written before or after the third letter; but it is clear that the heart of the third letter is what was finally addressed to Spenser, not to Wood.

Miss Bennett objects to supposing the third letter designed for Spenser for these reasons: "the addressee of the third letter is a law student, as we learn from the contents of the letter"; and "Harvey refers to his own study of the civil law as contrasted with his friend's devotion to the common law." But an examination of the passage concerned (fol. 43) will show that, though the correspondent is called "so towarde a lawier" and is included in the phrase "you lawiers and courtiers," he is nowhere said to be a law student, nor is any contrast made between his study of "common law" and Harvey's of "civil law." That is merely read in by Miss Bennett, doubtless unconsciously. Except for the two phrases quoted above, naming *lawier* and *lawiers*, there is nothing in the whole passage which could not be literally applied to a comparison of the opportunities of Spenser, living at court and in the service of the Queen's favorite, Leicester, for learning of important events and of immediate governmental policies on current situations, with the opportunities of a scholar-teacher at Cambridge, beginning the historical study of law and government as a side line. The correspondent is invited to act as informant, as a friend at court, as a representative of Harvey's interests. That is exactly what Spenser was doing at the time of these letters, soliciting patronage of Dyer and Sidney at court for Harvey's experiments in verse; and Harvey knew this, for he copied in the "Letter-Book" (fol. 53) a portion of one of Spenser's letters to him dated October 15-16, 1579:

The twoe worthy gentlemen, Mr. Sidney and Mr. Dyer, have me, I thanke them, in sum use of familiaritie; of whom and to whome what speache passith for your credдите and estimation, I leave yourselfe to conceyve, havynge allwayes so well conceyvid of my unfainid affection and good will towardes yow.

The published letters contain other reports on progress made in securing patronage for Harvey's enterprise. It does no more violence to

language for Harvey to refer to Spenser at this time as "sutch an odd frende in a corner, so honest an yuthe in y<sup>e</sup> city, so trew a gallant in y<sup>e</sup> courte, so towarde a lawier, and so witty a gentleman," than it does to write, in the second letter (fol. 40v.):

I beseech your gallantshipp lett this stammringe letter suffice for a dutifull sollicitour and rememberer in that behalfe (and especially in the other oeconomically matter you wott of, the very greatist parte and highest poynte of all my thoughtes at this präsente notwithstandinge y<sup>e</sup> residue ar as you see) withoute farther acquayntinge my benefactours and frendes with these peltinges scholasticall sutes.

Spenser was acquainting Harvey's friends and prospective benefactors with the same sort of "pelting scholastical suits" here referred to, if not these identical suits.<sup>1</sup>

It is hard to see why Miss Bennett is so positive that the person addressed in the second and third letters must be a lawyer. She writes (p. 177):

The third so-called letter to Spenser is even more probably intended to be addressed to John Wood as a student of an Inn of Court. But when Harvey made a copy of the letter which he actually sent to Wood [fol. 101v.] he did not even bother to copy the elaborations he had accumulated around the "literary" letter.

In other words, in the letter which Harvey actually addressed to Wood, there is not one word about law, lawyers, law students, Inns of Court, or any allusion whatever to them, the corresponding passages in question addressed to Wood referring to him only as a courtier. And yet throughout the article we are led to think that Wood is a lawyer, and that that is his chief claim to be the person addressed in all these letters!

The fictitious preface in the "Letter-Book" (fol. 42) evolved by Harvey for projected publication of the second, or Commencement, letter, is inaccurately described by Miss Bennett (p. 177) as "pretending to be written by a friend in 'an Inne of Courte,'" as is also the second letter (p. 182), "to be addressed to someone who was resident in 'an Inne of Courte' in 1573." Delivery in an Inn of Court is all that was predicated. The letters are "fownde . . . amongst a number of

<sup>1</sup> Harvey's habits in the playful use of legal terminology may be illustrated by his letter to Spenser, October 23, 1579, Spenser's letter to him, April 10, 1580, and Harvey's reply to it (*Poetical Works*, pp. 639, 641, 626); cf. also the long-drawn-out and fantastical obligation concerning the whiskers of "E. S. de London" in the first letter of the group in the "Letter-Book." The whimsical epithets he bestows on Spenser should be too familiar to require comment.

myne oulde scatterid papers," and the letter to the writer is said to be published "verbatim as it was deliverid unto me in an Inne of Court."

If a lawyer or a resident in an Inn of Court in 1573 were the necessary recipient of these letters, John Wood has not been adequately shown to have been either.<sup>1</sup> But it seems to me a waste of time to search for someone actually present in an Inn of Court in 1573 to receive this letter actually written in 1579 or later. The preface is admittedly fictitious in every particular. Stating so circumstantially the place of delivery is of a piece with the other publishing hoaxes of Harvey, as where he has the "Welwiller" tell in the preface of the *Three . . . Letters* just how he procured the letters at third or fourth hand, or as in the device of the "Letter-Book" (fol. 70), where a friend is said to have copied a piece out of a scholar's paper-book. The choice of an Inn of Court is natural enough as a place of fictitious delivery of a letter from a person just reconsecrating himself to the study of the law.

Examination of the content of the first and second letters will show that Miss Bennett distinctly understates the evidence for attributing them to Spenser as the person addressed when she says (pp. 172 and 163):

The initials "E. S." in the Latin "Obligation," and the pseudonym "Immerito" which occurs in the "Condicion of this Obligation," constitute the sole evidence that any of these letters was addressed to Spenser.

Mr. Scott's description of this section of the contents rests solely on the evidence provided by the occurrence of the initials "E. S." in one section of a

<sup>1</sup> He may have been the John Wood, of Snodland, Kent, who entered the Middle Temple, February, 1570, as Miss Bennett thinks; but, if so, he could have had but a year of elementary law study when he went to France with his uncle, Sir Thomas Smith, on his embassy of February 15, 1571—June, 1572. (The discussion of him by G. C. Moore Smith in *Marginalia* of Harvey, p. 222, suggests that he believes that Wood was with Smith on an earlier embassy, 1562-67. If that were so, he would certainly be too old to address in the terms of the third and fourth letters.) On January 21, 1572, Wood wrote to Cecil to solicit him to confer upon Smith the chancellorship of the Garter, and was successful in this suit (*S.P. Foreign*, 1572, art. 80). His employment as amanuensis to the Ambassador to France, February 15, 1571—June, 1572, makes it unlikely that he is the John Wood fined for non-residence at the Middle Temple in 1571 and 1572, as suggested by Miss Bennett. Smith, on return from France, was made Secretary of State, June 24, 1572. Strype (*Life of Sir Thomas Smith*) tells of Smith's employment of Wood, with another nephew, in connection with the break-up of an alchemical project at Poole. In making Wood joint-executor of his will in 1577, Smith carefully provided a lawyer cousin, Nichols, to be called on in case of need of interpretation of ambiguities—which would rather suggest that Wood may not have been a lawyer (*op. cit.*, pp. 157-58, and cf. p. 89).

letter which is generally admitted to be a part of a publishing hoax planned by Harvey, but never perpetrated.

The "E. S. de London" appears three times, and, even after "Benevolo" is introduced, one salutation of "Immerito" remains.

Miss Bennett's argument for the transfer of these letters and their schemes for publication from Spenser to John Wood is based upon (1) the initials "J. W." which occur in the left margin of the drafted title-page of the Verlayes volume, of which "Immerito" was originally to have been accused of having procured publication; and (2) evidence in the manuscript of the first letter that the salutation to "Magnifico Signor Benevolo" was inserted between lines, that "Benivolenza" was also inserted, and that one "Immerito" (fol. 38) was canceled in favor of "Benevolo."

Reference to the reproduction of the Verlayes title-page facing page 178 of Miss Bennett's article will show that the initials "J. W." are at the extreme left edge of the marginal writings, beneath and to the left of an underscored phrase *Quodvultdeus*, which appears to be intended to restore the *Quod vult Deus* previously inserted to the left of what was originally a one-word line, "Benevolo," and later canceled by a line drawn through the Latin phrase. Miss Bennett proposes to run this "J. W." from the outer margin into the text of the title-page, thus:

*Quodvultdeus* Benevolo  
J. W. commendith the  
Edition of his frendes  
Verlayes. . . .

"Benevolo J. W." means to her John Wood, who, in this title-page and in a revised form of the first letter, is to be the new cat's-paw in the projected publication of the Verlayes volume, and is also to sponsor another scheme of publishing connected with the second, or Commencement, letter.

As I have seen several very different types of handwriting by Harvey, and as his handwriting seems to have been very subject to moods, I shall not lay stress upon the fact that, so far as appearances go, the "J. W.," the "Edition," and the second *Quodvultdeus* (the one to the left) might well be by another hand than Harvey's. The location of the "J. W." is more important. If "J. W." had been meant to

be read into the title-page, its natural place would be in the blank space immediately after *Benevolo*, its alternative, or in the other blank space in the next line, directly before its predicate verb, and not where it is, far removed from either of these words to which it is supposed to be related. Its location in the extreme margin suggests that, if not a mere chance addition, it is a signature of a printer, publisher, editor, or other text-critic to a proposed change of form, namely, the restoration of the Latin phrase someone had canceled after jotting it in the margin. If Harvey wrote the "J. W." himself, it might be merely a memorandum that "J. W." had approved the restoration.

If a "J. W." must be provided for these initials on the title-page, I propose John Wolfe as a very much more likely person than John Wood, whether for making such an editorial suggestion to Harvey or for procuring or sponsoring a publication for him.<sup>1</sup> Wolfe's sister married John Harrison, who published the second edition of Spenser's *Calender*; and Wolfe printed one of the 1586 issues for John Harrison the younger. On August 22, 1587, he entered for publication *The Mourning Muses of Lod Bryskett upon the death of Sir Philip Sidney*, which in 1595 appeared in Spenser's volume with *Colin Clout*. For Harvey, Wolfe published the *Foure Letters and Certain Sonettes* of 1592, and *Pierces Supererogation* (1593), taking Harvey's side against Nashe in the pamphlet war. But the publishing venture which particularly illustrates Wolfe's sponsoring or procuring, and presumably editing, a

<sup>1</sup> John Wolfe was the son of Reginald Wolfe, under whom Henry Bynneman, publisher of the two sets of Harvey-Spenser letters of 1580, finished his term of apprenticeship. (Bynneman himself would probably not be available for publication of this particular volume of Harvey's, because he was brought to bar before the House of Commons, February 6, 1580, for printing without license a semi-surreptitious and abusive book attacking the Speaker of the House and other members. The case hung on as late as March 8, 1580 [*Journal of House of Commons*, I, 122 *et passim*], thus making him unavailable at the date of the first Verlayes preface, March 1. He resumed publishing by the end of March, and he undertook the *Three . . . Letters* volume, June 30, 1580, which Harvey rushed in ahead of the Verlayes. For this, charges of libel were brought against him as well as against Harvey, for satire on Perne, on Cambridge University, and (?) the Earl of Oxford; so that again on the date of revision of the preface to the Verlayes, August 1, 1580, he would probably not be looking for any more semi-surreptitious publication.) Wolfe had published Latin and Italian works in Italian printing offices, and on setting up an office in London, 1579-80, he continued to print numerous Italian works, of the sort that Harvey would care for (notably Aretino's). Nashe charged that Harvey lived for thirty-seven weeks at Wolfe's house and at his expense (*Works*, ed. McKerrow, III, 87-90, 95-97, 102). On Wolfe see A. Gerber, *MLN*, XXII [1907], 31 ff.; Arber, ed. of Stationers' Registers; Herbert, ed. of Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*; and *DNB*.

work of Harvey's is *A New Letter of Notable Contents with a Strange Sonet* (1593). This is in the form of a thirty-two-page letter addressed "To My Loving Friend, John Wolfe, Printer to the Citie." Wolfe is treated throughout the letter as an intellectual equal, of tastes akin to Harvey's. Harvey thanks him for books, comments on his new publications, discourses on contemporary foreign events, bestows personal compliments on him as a choice friend, and sends him his "newest trifle," the sonnet "Gorgon." Thus, by the simple device of addressing the epistle to a suitable publisher, Harvey gets the letter and the so-called sonnet into print as if procured by the publisher rather than offered by himself for publication. If, then, any "J. W." procurer or publisher is required, John Wolfe is far better than John Wood, who has not been shown to be intimate with Harvey or interested in his publications in any way. But I do not know that the presence of those initials requires such interpretation.

Miss Bennett argues (pp. 173 ff.) that Harvey changed from "Immerito" to "Benevolo" (and thereby from Spenser to Wood) on August 1, 1580, when the Verlayes title-page was revised and redated, the change being perhaps occasioned by Spenser's going with Grey to Ireland. But the "Benevolo" of the title-page is unmistakably shown, both by the centering and by the line-spacing, to have been present in the first draft, that is, on March 1, 1580, when the appointment to service in Ireland had not been made, and when Spenser was still demonstrably attempting to secure Dyer's patronage for Harvey's project. And, though "Benevolo" is the name in the March 1 title-page, the original table of contents, below this, on the same page of the "Letter-Book," has, as Item 4, "My Epistle to Imerito," another and later form of the contents below this one showing, as Item 2, "My Letter to Benevolo." The same alternative use of the nicknames as in the first title-page and first contents appears in the first letter of the "Letter-Book" group; for, in spite of insertion of the salutation, "Magnifico Signor Benevolo" and of "Benivolenza" and the change of one "Immerito" to "Benivolo" (fol. 38), one addressing of "mi best beloved Immerito" remains (fol. 37), as do three references to "E. S. de London." The new epithet, "Benevolo," perhaps occurred to Harvey when he decided upon "Welwiller" for the mysterious and

possibly unreal third person engineering the publication of his own and Spenser's *Three . . . Letters* registered June 30, 1580.<sup>1</sup>

The change of nickname, if change were intended, instead of mere alternation, is not consistently carried out. The most that can be argued is that Harvey decided to introduce and emphasize a fresh nickname for Spenser.

The letters themselves refuse to be transferred, through any shift of nickname. The remaining salutation of "mi best beloved Immerito" in the first letter (fol. 37) follows immediately a wish that the copies of Harvey's "nowe prostituted devices were buried a great deale deeper in the center of the erthe then the height and altitude of the middle region of the very English Alpes amountes unto in your shier," a reference which is intelligible enough if one accepts the Lancashire theory<sup>2</sup> as to Spenser's birthplace, but is difficult indeed to transfer to Wood's shire (Kent), where the hills are comparatively low.

Even more difficult than the transfer of these "English Alps" from Spenser's shire to Wood's is the transfer of Spenser's "mustachyoes and subboscoes"—not because Wood might not also have been so adorned, but because these particular whiskers are tagged with three monograms of "E. S. de London" (fol. 37v.). A minor difficulty appears in the transfer of the reference to associations with players of Leicester, Warwick, Vaux, and Rich. Those of Leicester, Warwick, and Rich, at least, might be expected to be in attendance in Leicester's circle in the time of Spenser's service of Leicester, 1579–80. Were they also in Wood's circle then?

But what reduces to absurdity the idea that Harvey, in shifting from "Immerito" to "Benevolo" in the first letter, was transferring the letter and the publishing scheme thereby from Spenser to Wood is the context of the very passage (fol. 38) where this cancel occurs. For

<sup>1</sup> The new nicknames are similar to those he used for Spenser. Cf. with *Magnifico Signor Benevolo* and *Benivolenza the Liberalissimo Signor Immerito* and the *Magnificenza* for Spenser in the Earthquake letter, April 7, 1580.

<sup>2</sup> Whitaker, in his *History of Whalley*, refers to the Lancashire hills as "the English Apennines," and there are frequent contemporary references to them as the "backbone" of England. Pendle Hill (thought by many to be near Spenser's home) was regarded as very high when knowledge of world-geography was less diffused. Grosart quotes (*Works of Spenser*, I, lvi) from James's *Iter Lancastrense*:

"Penigent, Pendle Hill, Ingleborough,  
Three such hills be not all England thorough,"

and from Grose's *Provincial Glossary* (p. 94):

"Ingleborough, Pendle, and Penigent,  
Are the highest hills between Scotland and Kent."

this passage refers to well-known views of Spenser's, expressed in the *Calender* for October, in E. K.'s Gloss, in E. K.'s dedication to Harvey, and also in a section of *Ruines of Time*, which seems to be referred to in the gloss to the *Calender*. The passage begins on folio 38:

What thoughe Italy, Spayne, and Fraunce ravished with a certayne glorious and ambitious desier (your gallantshipp would peradventure terme it zeale and devotion) to sett oute and aduance ther owne languages above the very Greake and Lattin, if it were possible, and standinge altogether uppon termes of honour and exquisite formes of speaches, karriinge a certayne brave, magnificent grace and maiestye with them, do so highly and honorably esteeme of their countrie poets reposing on great parte of their sovraine glory and reputation abroade in the worlde in the famous writings of their nobblist wittes? What though you and a thousand such nurrise a stronge imagination amongst yourselves that Alexander, Scipio, Caesar, and most of ower honorablist and worthyest captaynes had never bene that they were but for pore blinde Homer? What thoughe it hath universally bene the practise of the floorishingist States and most politique commonwelthes from whence we borrowe our substantiallist and most materiall præceptes and examples of wise and considerate governement, to make y<sup>e</sup> very most of ther vulgar tunges, and together with there seignoryes and dominions by all meanes possible to amplifie and enlarge them, devisinge all ordinarye and extraordinarye helpes, both for the polissinge and refininge them at home, and alsoe for the spreadinge and dispersinge of them abroade? What though Il Magnifico Signior Immerito [changed to Benevolo] hath notid this amongst his politique discourses and matters of state and governemente that the most couragious and valorous minds have evermore bene where was most furniture of eloquence and greatist stoare of notable orators and famous poets? What a goddes name passe we what was dun in ruinous Athens or decayid Roome a thousand or twoe thousande yeares agoe? Doist thou not oversensibely perceive that the markett goith far otherwise in Inglande wherein nothinge is reputid so contemptible, and so basely and vilelye accountid of as whatsoever is taken for Inglish. . . . Hath your monsieurshipp so soone forgottin our long Westminster conference the verie last Easter terme touchinge certaine odd peculiar qualities, appropriate in a manner to Inglish heddes and especiallye that same worthy and notorious *βριταννικὴν ζηλοτυπίαν* that Erasmus prettily playeth withall in a certayne gallant and brave politique epistle of his, written purposely to an Inglish gentleman, a courtier, to instructe him howe he might temporize, and courte it best here in Inglande?

The inquiry about Immerito's long Westminster conference is suitable for Spenser, but not transferable to Wood. Spenser addressed letters to Harvey from Westminster in 1579-80, and the friends were in the habit of reminding one another of such meetings and conversa-

tions, as in Spenser's published letter of "Quarto Nonas Aprilis," 1580, where he asks, concerning some trifling verses he sends to Harvey:

Seeme they comparable to those two, which I translated you *ex tempore* in bed, the last time we lay together in Westminster?

That which I eate, did I joy, and that which I greedily gorged,  
As for those many goodly matters leaft I for others.<sup>1</sup>

And this translation from Cato is linked with the "Letter-Book" (fol. 53) by Harvey's reference to it immediately after his quotation from Spenser's report on his cultivation of Dyer's and Sidney's friendship in Harvey's behalf—a quotation which follows a so-called sonnet intended for the dialogue in the Verlayes volume.

The remainder of the quotation above from Harvey's "E. S. de London" letter is equally applicable to Spenser and impossible to transfer to Wood or any other by mere change of address. It presents the correspondent's views: (1) that the true glory of any nation and its final claim to lasting repute are based upon its literary men, especially the poets who immortalize the deeds of heroes; and (2) that it therefore behooves each nation not only to encourage its men of literature, but also to "magnify and enlarge" and to devise all possible means of "polisshinge and refining" the vulgar tongue as a medium of literary expression.

After conceding that the mighty men of ancient Greece and Rome owe fame to their poets and that flourishing states of the past made the most of their vulgar tongues, Harvey exclaims: "What a Goddes name passe we what was dun in ruinous Athens or decayid Roome a thousand or twoe thousande years agoe?" With this compare another passage in the letter quoted above on the Westminster conference, in which Spenser, speaking of his difficulties in trying out the hexameter in English, says:

But it is to be wonne with Custome, and rough words must be subdued with Use. For, why a Gods name may not we, as else the Greekes, haue the kingdome of oure owne Language, and measure our Accentes by the sounde, reseruing the Quantitie to the Verse.

The desirability of developing the English language as a medium of literary expression is discussed at length in the *Calender*. With the citation by Harvey of Immerito's views (quoted above) concerning

<sup>1</sup> *Poetical Works*, p. 611

the refining and polishing of the English language, compare "E. K.'s" views in the dedication of the *Calender* to Harvey, particularly this bit:

The last more shameful then both, that of their owne country and natural speach, which together with their Nources milk they sucked, they haue so base regard and bastard iudgement, that they will not onely themselves not labor to garnish and beautifie it, but also repine, that of other it shold be embellished.

The very sentence in Harvey's letter which shows the correction of "Immerito" to "Benevolo" destroys Miss Bennett's theory. Nobody in his right mind would change the nickname alone without observing what the sentence says:

What though Il Magnifico Segnior Immerito hath notid this amongst his politique discourses and matters of state and governemente that the most couragious and valorous minds have evermore bene where was most furniture of eloquence and greatist stoare of notable orators and famous poets?

Did Harvey plan to transfer to John Wood the *Calender* of Spenser, along with his published letters, his whiskers, his initials, and the "English Alps" of his shire? The passage specifically alluded to in the sentence above is probably lines 61-66 of "October" in the *Calender*:

But ah *Mecenas* is yclad in claye,  
And great *Augustus* long ygoe is dead:  
And all the worthies ligen wrapt in leade,  
That matter made for Poets on to play:  
For euer, who in derring doe were dreade,  
The loftie verse of hem was loued aye.<sup>1</sup>

E. K.'s gloss to this passage also parallels Harvey's inquiry, quoted above; especially the long note beginning "For euer he sheweth the cause, why Poetes were wont to be had in such honor of noble men," and closing, "Such honor have Poetes alwayes found in the sight of princes and noblemen. Which this author here very well sheweth as els where more notably."

The more notable treatment elsewhere is probably that in the *Ruines of Time*, lines 344-434 of which stand out as a separate little essay which could well have been written before the elegiac matter near the date of the publication.<sup>2</sup> The specific reference of the gloss is

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 457, and Gloss, p. 459.

<sup>2</sup> Other allusions in the *Calender* show existence of other parts in some shape by 1579.

probably to lines 425-34, on Alexander's comment on blind Homer's power to immortalize his heroes.

These published ideas of Spenser's, which coincide precisely with the views assigned to "Immerito" in the very passage where the shift was later made from "Immerito" to "Benevolo," should be convincing evidence that this is a mere change of nickname and not a transfer of the letter from Spenser to another person.

The second letter, as Miss Bennett admits, contains a condensed and generalized reproduction of a similar passage in the first, addressed to "E. S. de London" and "Immerito." It has the same request for clippings of "your thrise honorable mustachyoes and sub-boscoes" (fol. 40v.), offers the same sort of whimsical obligation for the loan (fol. 41), and refers to this legal bond (fol. 42). And it contains a reference to the correspondent's having had a common school-master with Harvey (fol. 41): "Not forgetting youer ould Autenticall Rule, that you were wunt to saye you lernid first of ower Master Rydge, *Cautela superabundans non nocet.*" Scott, in his Index to the "Letter-Book," identifies Rydge as a master in Pembroke Hall, which might apply to a teacher of Spenser, who was of the same hall as Harvey and, though three years his academic junior, resident there at the same time. Miss Bennett does not refer to this passage, though she may have had it in mind when attempting to show that Wood (of Snodland, Kent) went to grammar school at Saffron Walden, where Harvey did (p. 176).<sup>1</sup>

This second letter is also, through its added matter (fol. 44), on the value of good models in creative activity, linked with the published letter of Harvey to Spenser, April 23, 1580, where the idea is applied specifically to the need of such models as Sidney and Dyer for Harvey's efforts in English versification, and where Harvey rejoices over Sidney's and Dyer's encouragement, includes a poem, the *Speculum Tuscanismi*, from the Verlayes material, and invites Spenser to show the letter to Sidney and Dyer.<sup>2</sup>

From the autumn of 1579 to the spring and early summer of 1580 may be traced in the published letters of Harvey and Spenser the

<sup>1</sup> As I find no such point in the Latin epistle cited, I think she may have confused Wood with Smith, the subject of the elegy, who was of Saffron Walden. At the end of the elegy is this: "Neque olim obliuisci queo quod olim pueri in Valdinensi gymnasio didiceram." See *Marginalia*, ed. G. C. Moore Smith, p. 9, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Poetical Works*, p. 623. Cf. below, p. 430.

progress made by Spenser in cultivating the friendship of Sidney and Dyer with a view to some patronage of his own works and Harvey's. On October 15-16, 1579, Spenser wrote to Harvey:

As for the twoo worthy Gentlemen, Master *Sidney* and Master *Dyer*, they haue me, I thanke them, in some use of familiarity: of whom, and to whome, what speache passeth for youre credite and estimation, I leaue your selfe to conceiue, hauing alwayes so well conceiued of my unfained affection, and zeale towards you.

This Harvey copied, with the reference to their "Areopagus," in his "Letter-Book" on the same page (fol. 53) with a so-called sonnet intended for the Verlayes volume. In the same letter from Spenser (October 15-16), he says he had thought of dedicating "My Slumber" and the other pamphlets to Dyer, as being more suitable to him than to Sidney. He says, further:

I receyued youre letter, sente me the last weeke: whereby I perceiue you other whiles continue your old exercise of Versifying in English. . . .

Truste me, your Verses I like passingly well. . . .

. . . . I will imparte yours to Maister *Sidney* and Maister *Dyer* at my nexte going to the Courte.<sup>1</sup>

Harvey replied to Spenser, October 23, 1579:

Your new founded ἀραον πάγον I honoure more, than you will or can suppose; and make greater accompte of the two worthy Gentlemenne, than of two hundreth *Dionisii Areopagitæ*, or the very notablest Senatours, that euer *Athens* dydde affourde of that number.<sup>2</sup>

On "Quarto Nonas Aprilis," 1580, Spenser wrote to Harvey, praising his hexameters, requesting more poems, and reporting Dyer's enthusiasm over those seen:

Imparte some your olde, or newe, Latine, or Englishe, Eloquent and Gallant Poesies to us, from whose eyes, you saye, you keepe in a manner nothing hidden.

. . . . I like your late English Hexameters . . . . exceedingly well. . . .

. . . . Truste me, you will hardly beleeeue what greate good liking and estimation Maister *Dyer* had of youre *Satyricall Verses*, and I, since the viewe thereof, hauinge before of my selfe had speciall likinge of Englishe Versifying, am euen nowe aboute to giue some token, what, and howe well therein I am able to doe.<sup>3</sup>

Spenser's reports explain the unusual form of the first title-page planned for the Verlayes volume, March 1, 1580, and the change made

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 635-36.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 639.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 611-12.

August 1, 1580. The original form is suitable only for preliminary presentation to a prospective patron; the revised form, for actual publication. By April, Spenser had, through personal interviews and submission of materials to Dyer, performed the functions of the Benevolo of the March 1 title-page:

Benevolo  
Volens Nolens præsenth the  
Dedication of his frendes  
Verlayes:  
And in stead of A Dedicatory Epistle  
præsenth himselfe. . . .

Seven elliptical flourishes, or looping lines of the pen, clearly visible in a photostat, run through the first half of the four lines beginning "And in stead of A Dedicatory Epistle," probably with an intent to cancel in harmony with the substitution of "recommendith the Edition" for "præsenth the Dedication," so that the final form would read:

To the right worshipfull Gentleman,  
and famous Courtior,  
Master Edwarde Diar,  
in a manner ower onlye Inglish Poett,  
In honour of his rare Qualities,  
and noble vertues,  
Benevolo  
*Quodvultdeus* recommendith the  
Edition of his frendes  
Verlayes: together with certayne other  
of his Poeticall Devises:  
To his good worshippes  
curtuous, and fauorable likinge.  
This first of August, 1580.

Harvey's published letter of April 23, 1580, shows that he had then received through Spenser definite encouragement and approval from Sidney and Dyer for his unrhymed verses, if not definite promise of patronage:

I cannot choose, but thanke and honour the good Aungell (whether it were *Gabriell* or some other) that put so good a motion into the heads of those two excellent Gentlemen *M. Sidney* and *M. Dyer*, the two very Diamondes of hir Maiesties Courte for many speciall and rare qualities: as to helpe forward our new famous enterprise for the exchanging of Barbarous and Baldue-tum Rymes with Artificiall Verses. . . . I beseeche you, commende me to

good *M. Sidney's* iudgement, and gentle *M. Immeritoes* obseruations. I hope your nexte Letters, which I daily expect, will bring me in farther familiaritie and acquaintance with al three [i.e., Dyer, Drant, and Sidney].<sup>1</sup>

This letter also holds up Sidney and Dyer as models in versifying, states that Harvey has sent a "mixed devise" to Sidney, and includes the *Speculum Tuscanismi* from the Dialogue for the Verlayes volume, a satire construed by contemporaries as directed at Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and declared by Nashe to have been written by Harvey to curry favor with Sidney, then at enmity with Oxford.<sup>2</sup>

This is the last of the three letters licensed for publication June 30, 1580, and the last thing it says is that the letter (including a poem intended for the Verlayes) may be shown to Sidney and Dyer. As this brings us within a month of the date of the revision of the title-page of the Verlayes volume (August 1, 1580), there is no reason to assume either a break in the relations of the friends or a waning of Spenser's interest in this project.<sup>3</sup>

Publication of the Verlayes was long delayed by Harvey's own dilatoriness, as he explains to Spenser in the Earthquake letter, April 7, 1580, where he says that the *Schollers Loue* is still being re-written, and that

some newe occasion, or other, euer carrieth me from one matter to another, and will neuer suffer me to finish eyther one or other. . . . But the Birde that will not sing in Aprill, nor in May, maye peradventure sing in September: and yet me thinkes, *Sat cito, si sat bene*, if I could steale but one poore fortnight to peruse him ouer afreshe, and copy him out anewe. Which I hope in God to compasse shortly.<sup>4</sup>

Corresponding to the postponement of the bird's song from April or May to September, we have the change of date of the Verlayes title-page from March 1 to August 1.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 623.

<sup>2</sup> "Have with You to Saffron Walden," in *Works* . . . , ed. R. B. McKerrow, III, 78, 92.

<sup>3</sup> On Spenser's encouragement of Harvey and of his publishing, see E. K.'s dedication of the *Calender* to Harvey, including an appeal to him to publish; E. K.'s praise of Hobbinol's writings in the gloss to "September"; expressions of intimate friendship, "January," ll. 55-60, "January" gloss; use of Harvey as interlocutor, "April," "June," "September," as deliverer of Spenser's own best lay, of Eliza, in "April," as medium of self-praise by Spenser, "June," ll. 49-63, and "December," ll. 43-48, and as recipient of the final message in the *Calender*. See also the Dublin sonnet to Harvey, July 18, 1586, and *Colin Clout*, ll. 16-36.

<sup>4</sup> *Poetical Works*, p. 620.

It is possible to guess at the new occasion which caused Harvey to give up immediate publication of the Verlayes volume, and to utilize some of its materials for a volume he wished to publish at once, the *Three . . . Letters* entered June 30, 1580. By April 12, 1580, Harvey had come definitely into candidacy for the position of public orator in place of Richard Bridgewater of King's College, Cambridge; and Harvey later admitted that his attack upon Dr. Perne, the "olde Controller," in the Earthquake letter of April, 1580, was animated by his resentment over being thwarted by "the old Foxe" Perne in the matter of this Oratorship, which he "earnestly affected."<sup>1</sup> Harvey was obliged to prove to Sir James Crofts, Controller of the Queen's Household, that Perne, and not he, was the "olde Controller" satirized; and he was forced to present a "large Apology"<sup>2</sup> to Cambridge University for the satire on Cambridge men and learning.

Utilization of portions of the material of the Verlayes for a volume placed ahead of it, and the libel charges and enforced apologies resultant from that volume doubtless explain the repeated delay, perhaps even the final failure, to publish the Verlayes volume. The trouble over the *Three . . . Letters* may also account for the changes in the matter and tone of the second letter to "E. S. de London," as compared with the first. It is somewhat chastened, more dignified, less playful, and less personal. It makes no charges of an unauthorized publication, but expresses fear (fol. 41) of repetition of "the late notorious præsident of a frende of ouers [the *Welwiller* of the *Three . . . Letters* volume?] that publishethe abroad every childish ridiculous toye which I shall never forgett, beinge so utterlye beyonde all expectation and likelihood." He says, further: "You see howe the burnt childe dreadith fier: and he that once smartid for Nifilles and sum prætendid oversights will not lightly incurr the least ieopardy, seeme the offence never so pardonable, and his defence never so reasonable and effectuell." His enforced apology to Cambridge seems to be alluded to (fol. 41v.):

Thanke my good Masters of Cambridge for this apologye. You knowe I was not wonte to truble myself or others greatlye with any sutch kindes ether of maydenlye excuses or schollarlye defence. But since all things ar becum haynous and scandalous, at every man's pleasure, it standith us poor sowles

<sup>1</sup> *Four Letters* (1592), "Bodley Head Quartos," pp. 29-34; *Marginalia*, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> See his account, *Four Letters* (1592), "Bodley Head Quartos," p. 31.

in hande to answer for ower selves as well as ower silly wittes and simple tunges will give us leave.

God be praynsid the thinges themselves for the greater parte ar not so offensive to quesie consciences, but they are as defensive against cavillinge objections.

His humiliation before the Cambridge authorities would explain also his attempt to revive his wounded self-esteem and public credit by publishing a fictitious letter dated back to 1573, that happy time when he was appointed to "play I! Segnor Filosofoes parte uppon the Comencement stage," and closing it, "From my Chamber the daye after my victorye."<sup>1</sup>

Let us consider now Miss Bennett's theory as to the fourth, or Mutability, letter in the "Letter-Book," which has no direct relation with these publishing devices. She objects to my interpretation of this letter as a criticism of points of view of Spenser as seen chiefly in the Mutability cantos, remarking of Harvey's "lastweekes letter, or rather bill of complaynte" (p. 183):

Of course a "bill of complaynte" would be a literary title only by license of metaphor, and, in its figurative use could just as well refer to a letter as to a poem. Here it occupies the normal position, common in Elizabethan writing, where the subject is named first by its literal name, and then by a metaphorical designation in an appositional phrase. The subject is the letter. Figuratively it is called a "bill of complaynte." No other interpretation can be made without violence to the language.

Must we, then, conclude, in order to avoid violence to the language, that it is a "news pamphlet," rather than a poetical complaint, that Harvey is really soliciting from his friend when he teases Spenser over his plaintive vein, in the Earthquake letter of April 7, 1580?

And then forsoothe, must I desire Maister *Immerito*, to send me within a weeke or two, some odde fresh pauling threehalfepennie Pamphlet for newes: or some Balductum Tragicall Ballet in Ryme, and without Reason, setting out the right myserable, and most wofull estate of the wicked, and damnable worlde at these perillous dayes, after the devisers best manner.<sup>2</sup>

Does not this passage suggest that Harvey had recently received some such poetical work as might be characterized by his description of the "letter, or rather bill of complaynte" in the "Letter-Book" (fol. 45)?

<sup>1</sup> Cf. his reminder of this success, as late as 1592, in reply to Nashe's charges that he has made himself ridiculous at Cambridge (*Four Letters*, p. 51).

<sup>2</sup> *Poetical Works*, p. 619.

Sir, yower newe complaynte of y<sup>e</sup> newe worlde is nye as owlde as Adam and Eve, and full as stale as y<sup>e</sup> stalist fasshion that hath bene in fasshion since Noes fludd. You erie owte of a false and trecherous worlde, and therein ar passinge eloquent and pathetical in a degree above the highest.

"Bill of complaint" is, of course, metaphorical; the *bill* being sufficiently accounted for by Harvey's predilection for legal terminology, and the *complaint* by Spenser's titles of poems, "Gnatts complaint," "ruins," "tears," etc., gathered together later as a volume of *Complaints*. The sending of poems back and forth with letters by the two friends was habitual.

Miss Bennett, for reasons unknown, thinks John Wood more likely than Spenser to have expressed the views criticized by Harvey in that letter (p. 182):

If we are to suppose that this fourth letter was a real letter, or even that it was a literary letter intended to be addressed to anyone in particular, John Wood is a much better candidate than Spenser for the distinction of addressee.

What there is about John Wood that makes him a candidate for this or other distinction does not appear. The shadowy image of Wood evoked by Miss Bennett's sketch is not endowed with any personality, temperament, tastes, or outlook on life which would even serve as basis for comparison with Spenser's known views on the topics treated in that letter. It has not been shown that Wood ever wrote anything at all of a philosophic, or even a literary, character, by way of correspondence or otherwise. Neither a professional amanuensis nor a possible law student is, abstractly speaking, more likely than Spenser, author of the *Mutability cantos*, the *Tears of the Muses*, the four *Hymns*, and *The Faerie Queene*, to have written to Harvey about the decline from the first, or golden age, nor about a theory of the elements making up the universe, nor about Reason's now yielding obedience to the senses.

Miss Bennett's reasons for supposing Harvey's comments inappropriate to Spenser's views are surprising (p. 185):

Harvey is replying, then, to the stoic point of view, with its belief in the golden age, in the degeneracy of the present, the evilness of the affections, and the need for a rule of appetite by reason. From this point of view the scholar's life was to be envied, and moral philosophy was more laudable than rhetoric. The rest of Harvey's letter is fragmentary and tells us nothing more about

the document to which he says he is replying. Apparently he intended to launch into another argument based upon a physical theory of the affections.

What Harvey does say about the document to which he is replying does not apply, then, to the *Cantos of Mutabilitie* at all, not only because Harvey is replying to a letter and not to a poem, but also because he is replying specifically to a point of view which was not Spenser's, and to things which are not in the *Cantos of Mutabilitie*.

What can this mean? The Mutability cantos begin with this belief in the degeneracy of the present from the "good estate" of the past. That is the theme of the first six stanzas, and stanzas 5 and 6 express it so specifically that no one can, for the sake of argument, twist or turn them into any other meaning. The same is true of the entire proem to Book V of *The Faerie Queene*, the relations between which and the Mutability cantos I tried to show in my former article.

Miss Bennett further objects (p. 184) that the second complaint, concerning which Harvey says, "You make a wonderfull greate matter of it, that reason, contrarie to all reason and y<sup>e</sup> custom of former ages is forcibly constraynit to yeelde her obedience, and to be in a manner vassal unto appetite," represents a stoic point of view "familiar to his contemporaries through the writings of the popular practical moralists, the Platonic Socrates, and Seneca." Therefore, presumably, it is not Spenser's!

The stoic vein may be readily granted. The dominant attitude in the Mutability cantos is a stoic position, as I shall show elsewhere. It harmonizes well enough with Spenser's favorite Platonic idealism. It happens that the particular point in the quotation on reason and appetite is traceable to the influence of Plato's *Republic*, and is a favorite idea of Spenser's, being most happily expressed in his account of the siege of the palace of Temperance, at the beginning of Book II, canto xi, of *The Faerie Queene*:

What warre so cruell, or what siege so sore,  
As that, which strong affections do apply  
Against the fort of reason euermore  
To bring the soule into captiuitie:  
Their force is fiercer through infirmitie  
Of the fraile flesh relenting to their rage,  
And exercise most bitter tyranny  
Upon the parts, brought into their bondage:  
No wretchednesse is like to sinfull vellenage.

But in a body, which doth freely yeeld  
 His partes to reasons rule obedient,  
 And letteth her that ought the scepter weeld, . . .

Harvey's further objections to his correspondent's views that most bodily and sensual pleasures are unlawful are certainly to such a view as Spenser expresses not only here but frequently elsewhere. That not all the ideas criticized in Harvey's letter are contained in the Mutability cantos I have already admitted. In view of the intimate and frequent exchange of ideas and of poems, orally and by correspondence, it is unreasonable to object that Harvey, in criticizing one philosophical poem, should show no awareness of any other expressions of kindred views by the writer elsewhere, especially when we remember the discursive mental movements of Harvey in his letters.

Any student thoroughly familiar with Spenser's writings must admit that the views criticized by Harvey in the Mutability letter, concerning the elements, the mutability of nature and of life, the degeneracy of the present from the golden age, the conflict between reason and appetite, are views which Spenser held. Whether he had disclosed these views to Harvey in letters or poems by 1579-80 is the point at issue; and it should be kept in mind that the Mutability cantos, as we have them, show some traces of revision, and may not represent precisely the form in which they may have been sent to Harvey at that time.

Those who protest against the idea that Spenser was interested in the Mutability theme as early as 1579-80 ignore Harvey's letter of October 23, 1579, in which he sent four poems on Mutability, published with that letter shortly after June, 1580. After saluting "Liberalissimo Signor Immerito," Harvey refers to an enclosure of "Certaine Latin verses, of the frailtie and mutabilitie of all things, sauuing onely Vertue."<sup>1</sup> Harvey teasingly exhorts Spenser, by the contents of these verses on Mutability, to "abandon all other fooleries, and honour Vertue,"<sup>2</sup> the onely immortall and suruiuing Accident amongst so many immortall and euer-perishing Substaunces." The letter also resembles the fourth letter of the "Letter-Book" in its playful teasing of

<sup>1</sup> "Two Other Very Commendable Letters" (1580), *Poetical Works*, pp. 639 f.

<sup>2</sup> On Spenser's treatment of virtue in contrast with mutability and the degeneracy of the times, see Book V, which adapts a bit of the Mutability material, especially Proem, stanzas 4, 9, and 10 and Canto I, stanza 1, on this theme.

the youth about his idealistic conception of love as opposed to a physical conception evidently preferred by Harvey. The remarks of this nature to the "youth" in the third and fourth letters of the "Letter-Book" group would not seem very appropriate for Harvey to address to Wood, who was older and more traveled than Harvey, but suit Harvey's elder-brother attitude toward Spenser, three years his academic junior.

Miss Bennett's preference for a late date for the Mutability cantos on grounds of internal evidence is in line with the usual position of Spenser scholars, as set forth by Professor Greenlaw and his associates, and recently by Professor F. W. Padelford, with special reference to prosody and style.<sup>1</sup> Though Mr. Padelford's arguments are ably presented, I find it very difficult to accept the increased use of feminine rhymes and run-on lines as a criterion of late work in Spenser's case, not only because it would drive one to some strange conclusions about parts of *The Faerie Queene* itself, but because the best illustrations of these criteria of advanced achievement in the Mutability cantos, such as VII, vi, 8; VII, vi, 44; VII, vii, 41 and 43, when read aloud, sound like the struggles of an amateur versifier who has not yet established his technique. I cannot imagine them as having been written by Spenser after six books of *The Faerie Queene* unless he were very ill or in his dotage. They sound more like the doggerel vein of *Mother Hubbard* as to movement. And I still think the philosophy of the Mutability cantos sophomoric, as compared with that of the last two hymns.

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<sup>1</sup> *PMLA*, XLV (1930), 704-11.

A COMMENTARY ON CERTAIN PUBLISHED LETTERS  
OF HONORÉ DE BALZAC

THE reliability of many of Balzac's published letters has frequently been questioned.<sup>1</sup> The majority of these unreliable letters are confined to one volume of general correspondence, published by Calmann-Lévy in 1876 as the twenty-fourth volume of Balzac's complete works. This volume, which has been employed by biographers and literary historians for more than a half-century, must definitely be discarded, since the letters published therein are, *en bloc*, untrustworthy. The greater number of them display astounding variants, omissions, or elaborations when compared with the originals; the dating of none may be trusted. The question of the editorship of this volume is of minor importance. It is sufficient for us to note that the letters were "prepared" for publication by persons who were interested in withholding many matters of family concern, especially of a financial nature; who did not hesitate to re-work lavishly Balzac's careless style; who committed grievous errors in assigning dates.

Balzac's letters are today being published or republished much more conscientiously. Without mentioning the single letters which were given accurate form during the lifetime of Spœlberch de Lovenjoul, several important collections have been correctly published in latter years.<sup>2</sup>

In the volume of published correspondence mentioned above, 30 per cent of the letters are addressed by Balzac to members of his family: his mother; his sister, Mme Surville, and her husband; his nieces, Sophie and Valentine Surville. These letters are the subject of the fol-

<sup>1</sup> Notably by J. Merlant, "Les Variantes de Madame Hanska," *Revue bleue*, October 19 and 26, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> Balzac's correspondence with Mme de Berny (Hanotaux and Vicaire, *La Jeunesse de Balzac*, new ed., 1921); with Lieutenant Colonel Périolas (*Cahiers balzaciens*, Tome I [1923]); with his publisher, Souverain (W. S. Hastings, *Balzac and Souverain* [1927]); with the Duchess of Castries (*Cahiers balzaciens*, Tome VI [1928]); with Dr. Nacquart (*ibid.*, Tome VIII [1928]).

lowing commentary.<sup>1</sup> Our object is to emphasize the correct reading in a number of important instances.<sup>2</sup>

1. *L. April 12, 1819.*—Corrected: August 12, 1819. The manuscript is dated "12 août." Letter written shortly after Mme de Balzac had rented for Honoré a garret-room at 9 Rue Lesdiguières.

6. *L. October, 1819.*—Corrected: October 25–30, 1819. Undated. The year is determined by a reference to Honoré's literary débuts. The second part of the letter is headed "samedi 30"; the beginning contains the phrase "hier dimanche." From this evidence we may establish the month and day. The published version contains surprising omissions and variants; for example:

"CORR."

MS

Dis à maman que je travaille tant, que vous écrire est mon délassément. Alors, sauf vot' respect et le mien, je vais comme l'âne de Sancho, par les chemins, broutant tout ce que je rencontre. Je ne fais pas de brouillon (fi donc! le cœur ne connaît pas de brouillons). Si je ne ponctue pas, si je ne me relis pas, c'est pour que vous me relisiez et pensiez plus longtemps à moi. Je jette ma plume aux bêtes, si ce n'est pas là une finesse de femme! ...

Dis à maman que je suis si occupé que, quand je vous écris, je prends ma plume et mon papier, et je vais comme l'âne de Sancho, suivant le chemin; que je ne relis pas vos lettres, que je ne fais pas de brouillon, (jamais, pas même au Lys, c'est dommage—fi donc, des brouillons! est-ce le cœur connaît les brouillons), que je ne ponctue pas, que je vous en demande pardon; c'est coquetterie, pour qu'on me lise deux fois et que l'on pense plus longtemps à moi; voilà par exemple une finesse de femme.

8. *L. 1820.*—Corrected: November, 1819. Undated. After an idle month (October; see No. 6) Honoré is again busy with *Le Régicide*. "Je ne sais ce que le petit anti-Cornaro de père [Dablin] m'a ragoté ce matin de vous, de Saint-Cloud, de mois d'octobre. ..." He proposes

<sup>1</sup> Balzac's correspondence with his family, including the letters of Mme de Balzac to her son, will be edited shortly by the contributor of these notes. The volume will contain a large number of important unpublished documents.

<sup>2</sup> The number placed before each letter commented upon is the number assigned to the letter as published in the general correspondence (*Corr.*). The recipient of the letter is designated thus: L, Mme Surville; M, Mme de Balzac mère; N, Sophie and Valentine Surville. The date which is set immediately after is that given in the *Corr.* A corrected date and comment then follow. The *Lettres à l'étrangère* (abbreviated *LEt*), whenever quoted, have been checked from the originals.

to send his sister a detailed plan of his tragedy. The published version contains omissions and variants.

9. *L. September, 1820.*—Corrected: September, 1819. Undated. He promises to send Laure the first act of *Cromwell* "à la fin de novembre [read: *septembre*] ou au commencement d'octobre." He refers in this letter to an epistle in verse which he mailed her a short time before (letter No. 3, dated correctly September 6, 1819).

10. *L. 1820.*—Corrected: November, 1819. Undated. He incloses the plan of *Cromwell*. This letter should follow No. 8, dated November, 1819.

11. *L. June, 1821.*—Corrected: June 9, 1821. Undated. "Avant-hier, c'était la feste à Villeparisis. ... Telle ne fut pas la fête dernière; il y eut un jeune troubadour qui tournait à l'entour de Mademoiselle Laure." Laure Balzac was married on May 18, 1820, three days before Pentecost. This letter was written during the Pentecost season—"la fête de Villeparisis"—one year after Laure's marriage. "C'est aujourd'hui samedi, veille de dimanche," gives us the correct day of the month.

12. *L. June, 1821.*—Correctly dated. The following interesting passage has been omitted in the published version:

Je t'écirai une ou deux fois pendant mon voyage en Touraine, où je tâcherai de faire des poésies romantiques pour me faire épouser comme M. de La Martine. Il a composé une rêverie intitulée *le Lac*, et tu sais qu'il était en Italie pour rétablir sa santé. Il tombe chez lui une Anglaise qui lui dit:—Voù aïtes Mon chieu de Le Mertine; ché vien aïpousé vous, pâ ce que ché aïme peuacoupe vôtre Lâque, et ché daune à vou vin quât heür por vous décidé, et che vous empaurte dan le Angleter por mon méri, si vou le foulez.—Lamartine, pour se débarrasser de cette folle, prit des chevaux de poste et s'en fut à Naples. L'Anglaise qui le guettait, paya les postillons grassement et prit trois chevaux, et elle arriva à Naples avant lui. Il se croyait délivré, quand, cinq ou six minutes avant l'expiration du délai, Milady reparait, disant:—Avré-vou reflaichis? Je ai 15,000 livres sterling de revenu, foulez-vous meu épousair? ... Ce qu'il fit. Or, si on l'a épousé pour la lune, je vais moi chanter le soleil, et comme ses rayons sont bien plus violens que ceux de la lune, j'espère que ma miladi aura bien plus de rentes que celle-là. C'est-i un frère qui jase, et raconte toutes les nouvelles, et au besoin en fait, car je me reconnais pour un peu exagéré. Depuis que je m'en suis apperçu, je me tiens en garde contre l'intempérance de l'imagination.

One notes with some surprise that, at the beginning of his career as a novelist, Balzac is already possessed of the bizarre imagination which will presently call into being a Baron de Nucingen, whose jargon resembles very closely that of the innocent Miss Birch!

13. *L. 1821*.—Corrected: probably beginning of August, 1821. Undated. He has finished the composition of his first novel (in collaboration with Le Poitevin de l'Egreville), the first volume of which he was correcting in June (No. 12). The latter part of this letter is omitted in the published version.

14. *L. 1821*.—Corrected: about August 15, 1821. Undated. Written two weeks after No. 13. Gives an account of the soirée following the signing of Laurence Balzac's marriage contract. Laurence was married on September 1. The published version contains the following striking variants:

"CORR."

Il est arrivé à notre pauvre père bien-aimé un cruel accident. ... Le calme apparent de mon père me faisait peine, j'aurais préféré des plaintes, je me serais figuré que des plaintes le soulageaient! mais il est si fier à bon droit de sa force morale, que je n'osais même le consoler, et la douleur d'un vieillard fait autant souffrir que celle d'une femme!

Si je ne gagne pas promptement de l'argent, le spectre de la place reparaitra; je ne serai pas notaire toutefois, car M.T. ... vient de mourir. Mais je crois que M.G. ... me cherche sourdement une place; quel terrible homme! Comptez-moi pour

MS

Il est arrivé à notre pauvre père bien aimé un cruel accident. ... Papa est triste de cet événement, et sa tristesse a quelque chose de navrant. Elle tient le milieu entre la résignation insouciant et les regrets cuisans qu'une telle perte lui apporte. Tu sais comme il est curieux de sa santé. Je désire bien que cet événement n'influe pas sur son être et son avenir, mais je le crains. Il est dur d'arriver à son âge, tel qu'il était, et d'essuyer un pareil échec. Il était si curieux de sa vue, et se soignait tant. Rien n'est déchirante comme la douleur d'une femme ou d'un vieillard.

Si j'ai une place, je suis perdu, et M. Nacquart<sup>1</sup> en cherche une. Je deviendrai un commis, une machine, un cheval de manège qui fait ses trente ou quarante tours, boit, mange et dort à ses heures; je serai comme tout le monde. Et l'on appelle vivre

<sup>1</sup> In the published version note the omission of the proper name; this occurs frequently.

mort si on me coiffe de cet éteignoir, je deviendrai un cheval de manège qui fait ses trente ou quarante tours à l'heure, mange, boit, dort à des instants réglés d'avance.

cette rotation de meule de moulin, ce perpétuel retour des mêmes choses!

And, finally, the most quoted phrase from the letters of Balzac:

"CORR."

MS

Le vieillard est un homme qui a diné et qui regarde les autres manger; et moi, jeune, mon assiette est vide et j'ai faim! Laure, Laure, mes deux seuls et immenses désirs, être célèbre et être aimé, seront-ils jamais satisfaits? ...

Un vieillard est un homme qui a diné et qui regarde ceux qui arrivent en faire autant. Or, mon assiette est vide, elle n'est pas dorée, la nappe est terne, les mets insipides. J'ai faim, et rien ne s'offre à mon avidité! Que me faut-il? des ortolans, car je n'ai que deux passions: l'amour et la gloire, et rien n'est encore satisfait, et rien ne le sera jamais! Outre cela, je suis coudoyé, enchaîné, pas libre!

15. *L. 1822*.—Corrected: October, 1821. Undated. Written shortly after Laurence's marriage on September 1, 1821. The opening lines, with reference to the sale of *L'Héritière de Birague*, determine with fair degree the date: this novel was purchased by the publisher Hubert in October, 1821.

16. *L. 1822*.—Corrected: November 23, 1821. Undated, but accompanied by a note dated November 23, 1821, written by Balzac's grandmother, Mme Sallambier.

17. *L. 1822*.—Corrected: February, 1822. Undated; but (1) the appearance of *L'Héritière de Birague* (announced in the *Bibliographie de la France*, January 26, 1822), and (2) "la levée de boucliers du général Berton," culminating in the march on Saumur, February 24, 1822, give us as an approximate date February, 1822.

18. *L. 1822*.—Corrected: end of January, or first of February, 1822. Undated. The contract for *Clotilde de Lusignan* was signed on January 22, 1822.

19. *L. 1822*.—Corrected: either March 26 or April 2, 1822. Letter is headed "mardi soir." Honoré writes that Laure will shortly receive a copy of *Jean-Louis*, which was announced in the *Bibliographie de la France* on March 30, 1822.

23. *L. 1827*.—Corrected: February 14, 1829. Letter is headed "samedi 14 février." The year is furnished by the phrase "j'ai encore dix à douze jours de travail pour en finir avec *Le Dernier Chouan*." Cf. the letter of H. de Latouche to Balzac, February 26, 1829 (published in F. Ségu, *Un Maître de Balzac méconnu—H. de Latouche* [1928]): "Vous aviez demandé un mois pour finir. ... Il y a six semaines et vous en êtes à la feuille 7 du 3<sup>me</sup> volume." The published version of this letter of Balzac contains surprising variations from the manuscript.

27. *L. 1829*.—Corrected: end of May or first of June, 1829. Written from Tours, and undated. Balzac was at Saché during these days. See his letter to H. de Latouche, May 25, 1829 (published by L.-J. Arrigon, *Les Débuts littéraires d'Honoré de Balzac* [1924], pp. 271-72).

28. *L. 1829*.—Corrected: February 11, 1829. Undated. References are made to the proof corrections for *Le Dernier Chouan*; and the phrase "ta lettre que je reçois le 11" furnishes the day of the month. This letter has been almost entirely re-worked and elaborated in the published version.

34. *L. 1830*.—Corrected: beginning of January, 1829 (?). Undated. The date 1830 may be eliminated at once, since the letter was written before the death of Balzac's father (June 19, 1829). It antedates Nos. 23, 27, and 28. Published version contains many stylistic retouches. For example:

"CORR."

MS

J'ai sous les yeux vos gronderies, madame; il vous faut encore, je le vois, quelques renseignements sur le pauvre délinquant.	Honoré, ma chère sœur, est un jeune homme sur lequel il vous faut donner des renseignements.
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57. *L. November 23, 1831*.—Corrected date determined by the postmark: Tours, November 22, 1836.

74. *M. July, 1832*.—Corrected: July 15, 1832. Undated. In No. 75 Balzac writes his mother from Angoulême that he arrived "avant-hier soir," i.e., July 17. In this letter, written from Saché, he says "je pars demain lundi," which establishes the correct day of the month.

77. *M. July 29, 1832*.—Corrected: July 26, 1832. Letter is headed "jeudi." It follows immediately an unpublished letter to his mother

postmarked Angoulême, July 24, 1832. "Jeudi" would therefore give July 26.

78. *M. July 30, 1832.*—Corrected date determined by the postmark: Angoulême, July 29, 1832.

79. *M. August, 1832.*—Corrected: August 12 or 13, 1832. Undated. Balzac instructs his mother to forward an inclosed letter to Buloz, to beg an interview for August 17. A letter mailed from Angoulême on August 12 or 13 would have reached Mme de Balzac in sufficient time for her to have carried out his instructions.

80. *L. August, 1832.*—Corrected: July 20, 1832. Undated. Reference is made to a letter of July 19 to his mother (No. 75): "hier, je lui ai répondu un peu brièvement. ..." Throughout the published version, which is teeming with omissions, an attempt has been made to improve Balzac's style, and elaborations abound. The following passage, for example, is entirely fabricated in the *Correspondance*:

*Louis Lambert* m'a coûté tant de travaux! que d'ouvrages il m'a fallu relire pour écrire ce livre! Il jettera peut-être, un jour ou l'autre, la science dans des voies nouvelles. Si j'en avais fait une œuvre purement savante, il eût attiré l'attention des penseurs, qui n'y jetteront pas les yeux. Mais, si le hasard le met entre leurs mains, ils en parleront peut-être! ...

Je crois *Louis Lambert* un beau livre! Nos amis l'ont admiré ici, et tu sais qu'ils ne me trompent pas!

The following passages are interesting to compare, showing, again, an effort to retouch Balzac's style:

"CORR."

Oui, tu as raison, mes progrès sont réels, et mon courage infernal sera récompensé. Persuade-le aussi à ma mère, chère sœur; dis-lui de me faire l'aumône de sa patience; ses dévouements lui seront comptés! Un jour, je l'espère, un peu de gloire lui payera tout! Pauvre mère! cette imagination qu'elle m'a donnée la jette perpétuellement du nord au midi et du midi au nord: de tels voyages fatiguent; je le sais aussi, moi!

MS

Ainsi, ma pauvre sœur, tout va bien; seulement, l'abandon des journaux a causé momentanément un déficit qui m'a mis à mal. Mais j'ai fait pendant ces six mois-ci des progrès immenses sur tous les points de ma sphère, et, dans quelque tems, je retrouverai tout le fruit des sacrifices que ma mère et moi allons faire. Ma pauvre mère! si tu savais comme mon cœur saigne de la savoir malade et peu fortunée! Il faut tout cela pour me donner ce courage infernal qui me fait travailler. Mais un jour de grand

Dis à mère que je l'aime comme lorsque j'étais enfant. Des larmes me gagnent en t'écrivant ces lignes, larmes de tendresse et de désespoir, car je sens l'avenir, et il me faut cette mère dévouée au jour du triomphe! Quand l'atteindrai-je?

bonheur et de gloire lui payera tout cela. Seulement, elle a une imagination, comme la mienne; et, par instans, elle ne voit que la misère et les difficultés, comme en d'autres elle ne voit que le triomphe. Je l'excuse bien, va, et je l'aime aujourd'hui mieux que jamais. Dis-le-lui bien, ma bonne Laure, et en t'écrivant ces lignes, j'ai les larmes dans les yeux; ce sont des larmes de tendresse et de désespoir, car je sens l'avenir, et je voudrais bien que cette bonne mère dévouée pût venir avec moi jusqu'au jour où nous aurons tous triomphé.

82. *M. August 22, 1832.*—The dating is correct, although Balzac heads his letter merely "mardi 22," an obvious error which should be corrected to read "mercredi 22." Balzac was negotiating at this date both with the *Revue des deux mondes* and the *Revue de Paris*. He writes: "J'ai pour chaque mois, pendant trois mois, un article pour la *Revue de Paris* et la *Revue des Deux Mondes*, dont deux de prêts" (passage omitted from the published version). Then, later, he writes: "J'ai passé la nuit à finir le maudit article de Buloz," that is to say, his article for the *Revue des deux mondes*. This latter passage is transcribed most curiously in the *Correspondance* as follows: "J'ai passé la nuit à finir le *Maudit*, article pour Buloz," and a footnote indicates that *Le Maudit* "n'a jamais paru!"

84. *M. August 27, 1832.*—Corrected: July 20, 1832. Undated. Reference is made in the opening line to a letter (No. 75) written the day before: "Après t'avoir écrit si à la hâte hier. ..." Almost half the published version of this letter has been fabricated; for example:

"CORR."

Comment te rendrai-je, quand te rendrai-je et pourrai-je jamais te rendre en tendresse et en bonheur tout ce que tu fais pour moi? Je ne puis aujourd'hui que t'exprimer ma profonde reconnaissance. Ce voyage que tu m'as mis à même de faire

MS

Pauvre mère! comment te rendrais-je, quand te rendrais-je, et puis-je jamais te rendre en tendresse, en bonheur, ce que tu fais pour moi. Non, j'en ai peur; et, cependant, je l'espère, si tu peux pendant cinq à six mois te charger de me représenter

m'était bien nécessaire, j'avais un besoin absolu de distraction. J'étais accablé de la fatigue que m'a causée *Louis Lambert*; j'avais passé beaucoup de nuits et fait un tel abus de café, que j'éprouvais des douleurs d'estomac qui allaient jusqu'aux crampes. *Louis Lambert* est peut-être un chef-d'œuvre, mais il m'a coûté cher: six semaines d'un travail obstiné à Saché et dix jours à Angoulême. Pour le coup, *certain amis* me prendront peut-être pour un homme de quelque valeur.

à Paris, et me laisser voyager, la bride sur le cou, je me débarrasserai de Gosselin, je ferai le *Marquis de Carabas*, et un volume de *Contes drolatiques*, je deviendrai libre, et peut-être alors aurais-je fait quelque chose qui achèvera si bien ma réputation, et la mettra si haut que tu en auras tous les jours un bonheur nouveau.

85. *M. September 1, 1832.*—Correctly dated. A long letter of which only fragments have been published.

87. *L. September 15, 1832.*—Corrected: September 4, 1832. The letter is headed "Aix, 4 septembre." It is almost entirely unpublished. The following examples will disclose the quality of the inaccuracies and fabrications which are to be found in the published version:

"CORR."

Me voilà entre trente et quarante, chère sœur, c'est-à-dire dans toute ma force; il faudrait maintenant écrire mes plus beaux sujets, qui doivent faire le couronnement de mon œuvre; je verrai, à mon retour, si j'aurai la tranquillité qu'il me faut pour aborder ces grands ouvrages.

Je suis aux portes de l'Italie et je crains de succomber à la tentation d'y entrer. Le voyage ne serait pas coûteux; je le ferais avec la famille

MS

Chère sœur, il me manque un compagnon de voyage qui soit tout à moi. Je l'ai eu jusqu'à présent. Maintenant, depuis trois mois, je suis seul, et la solitude va mal aux cœurs bien aimans, surtout lorsque l'on s'y réfugie si souvent pour penser, pour concevoir, pour exécuter de grands travaux; car, aujourd'hui, je dois me presser, je suis dans toute ma force. L'essai sur *les Forces humaines* et le *Marquis de Carabas* doivent se faire en ce moment; car je suis entre trente et quarante; nous ne pouvons pas le nier, mon ancienne!

Je suis aux portes de l'Italie; quand j'aurai fini *la Bataille*, je verrai si je suis assez riche pour faire le voyage. En tout cas, je verrai toujours

Fitz-James, qui m'y donnerait tous la Suisse; mais il faut tant travailler. les agréments possibles; ils sont tous parfaits pour moi, etc., etc.

93. *M. October 9, 1832.*—Corrected: September 30, 1832. Written from Aix, not Annecy. Letter is headed "dimanche 30," which establishes the date. The editor of the *Correspondance* has been led astray by the phrase at the beginning, which reads: "Tu trouveras, ci-joint, le manuscrit d'une *Lettre à Nodier*." This letter, as published in the *Revue de Paris*, is dated Annecy, October 9, 1832.

94. *M. October 16, 1832.*—Corrected: September 16, 1832. Written from Aix, not Geneva. Undated. An unpublished fragment mentions "Aujourd'hui, dimanche 16," which determines the correct date. The editor of the published version omits Balzac's requests to have his mother send him two pairs of boots, the proofs of *Les Orphelins*, an article which he had prepared for *Le Rénovateur*, a pot of *pommade de Joannis*, and "une bouteille d'eau de Portugal et d'Houbigand. Cela me manque beaucoup!"

95. *M. October, 1832.*—Corrected: between October 10 and 15, 1832. Undated. Written on the eve of Balzac's departure from Geneva after his sudden rupture with Mme de Castries, the exact date of which we do not know. An unpublished letter to his mother, dated October 2, from Aix, notifies her that he will leave Aix for Geneva on October 10, and states that he will not be in Geneva after the fifteenth. Since his adieux to Mme de Castries were abruptly made, this letter may have been written before the fifteenth.

97. *M. End of 1832.*—Corrected: possibly the beginning of 1835. Undated. One phrase, omitted in the published version, makes 1832 a highly improbable date: "Tu peux compter sur ce que tu me demandes. *Je ne renouvellerai ni ma loge à l'Opéra, ni aux Bouffons.*" The following excerpts from letters to Mme Hanska suggest the beginning of 1835 as an approximate date for this letter:

1. MARCH 11, 1835: "J'ai renoncé à tous les plaisirs. Plus d'Opéra, plus d'Italiens, plus rien; la solitude et le travail" [*LEt*, I, 237].

2. MARCH 30, 1835: "Il faut penser bien sérieusement au bonheur de ma mère. Elle change beaucoup; les chagrins, etc." [*ibid.*, p. 243].

109. *L. June 1833.*—Corrected: October 12, 1833. This letter was published correctly, with proper date, by Spoelberch de Lovenjoul,

first in the *Figaro*, January 5, 1894, then in Lovenjoul's *Roman d'amour* (1896), pages 79-88.

118. *L. 1833*.—A forgery, manufactured in part from fragments of genuine letters.

128. *L. 1834*.—A forgery,<sup>1</sup> manufactured largely from an undated letter to which we may assign the date October 26, 1835, determined as follows: The letter is headed "lundi, 2 heures du matin." It contains the following information: (1) "*Le Lys dans la vallée* est dédié au docteur [Nacquart], et la dédicace le touchera aux larmes." This dedication, sent to Dr. Nacquart on October 15, 1835, was not acknowledged until the twenty-ninth (see *Cahiers balzaciens*, Tome VIII, letters 15 and 16). (2) "D'ici à huit jours *la Fleur des pois* paraît." Cf. letter to his mother, October 30, 1835 (No. 157): "Il ne faut plus que sept ou huit jours pour que *la Fleur des pois* paraisse."

This fabrication is of such a complicated order that we shall reproduce below the published version, and, against it, the fragments of which it is composed:

"CORR."

Ma bonne *alma soror*!

Ton mari et Sophie sont venus hier faire un détestable dîner dans ma garçonnière de Chaillot; le procédé était d'autant plus malséant que le bon frère avait couru toute la journée pour moi, voir une maison que je veux acheter.

Je viens de conclure une bonne affaire avec *l'Estafette*; les autres grands journaux me reviendront, ils ont besoin de moi.

MS

[October 26, 1835]

Ma bonne *alma soror*,

Hier Sophie et Surville ont fait un détestable dîner dans ma garçonnière de Chaillot. Ton mari avait été faire l'ingénieur pour moi, voir une maison que je vais acheter. Cette nouvelle n'est à autre fin que pour te dire de ne plus troubler ton cher sommeil pour ce pauvre Honoré. Examen fait de mes dettes à payer, des sommes à recevoir, j'aurai, etc., etc.

[November 15, 1837]

Trois mois ne se passeront pas sans quelque affaire pareille à celle de *l'Estafette*.<sup>2</sup> Les grands journaux auront besoin de moi, et je les pressurerai pour les aider dans leur lutte contre les journaux à 40 francs.

<sup>1</sup> The authenticity of this letter has already been questioned by A. G. Canfield, "Apropos of a Letter of Balzac," *MLN*, XLIV (1929), 167-71.

<sup>2</sup> This phrase occurs in *Corr.*, No. 179.

D'ailleurs, m'ont-ils enlevé mes champs cérébraux, vignes littéraires et bois intelligentiels? et ne me restait-il pas les libraires pour les exploiter? Ceux-ci, ne comprenant pas leur véritable intérêt (ceci te paraîtra incroyable), préférèrent les ouvrages qui n'ont paru dans aucune revue; ce n'est pas le moment de les éclairer; il est certain néanmoins qu'une première impression leur épargne des annonces, et que plus une œuvre est connue, plus elle se vend.

Ne te chagrine donc pas, il n'y a pas encore péril en la demeure; je suis fatigué, il est vrai, malade même, mais j'accepte l'invitation de M. de Margonne et vais passer deux mois à Saché, où je me reposerai et me soignerai. J'y essayerai du théâtre, tout en finissant mon *Père Goriot* et corrigeant la *Recherche de l'absolu*. Je commencerai par *Marie Touchet*, une fière pièce où je dresserai en pied de fiers personnages.

Je veillerai moins, ne te tourmente pas de cette douleur au côté. Écoute donc, il faut être juste, si les chagrins donnent la maladie de foie, je ne l'aurai pas volée.—Mais halte-là, madame la Mort! si vous venez, que ce soit pour recharger mon fardeau, je n'ai pas encore fini ma tâche. ... — Ne t'inquiète pas trop, le ciel deviendra bleu! ...

*Le Lys dans la vallée* est dédié au docteur Nacquart, et la dédicace le

<sup>1</sup> This phrase occurs in *Corr.*, No. 153. In the letter under date of October 26, 1835, Balzac locates elsewhere his *douleur*: "Je souffre dans le dos, dans la poitrine, et j'ai de continuel étourdissemens."

[October 26, 1835]

*Ergô*, ton mari a visité la maison dont le paiement me contraindra d'employer le produit de mes champs cérébraux, vignes littéraires, et bois intelligentiels. La maison a coûté, etc., etc.

[October 26, 1835]

Mais je suis décidé à aller passer vingt jours à Saché. Je renonce à faire de misérables petites pièces, quelque soit le prix que j'en trouve. J'aborde *Marie Touchet* immédiatement, et je la ferai à Saché pour me distraire avec le troisième dixain, en travaillant modérément dix heures par jour au lieu de vingt.

[September, 1835]

J'ai une douleur au côté droit qui persiste. ...<sup>1</sup>

[October 26, 1835]

*Le Lys dans la vallée* est dédié au docteur [Nacquart], et la dédicace le

touchera aux larmes. Je lui dis que j'insère son nom sur cette pierre de l'édifice autant pour remercier le savant auquel je dois la vie que pour honorer l'ami. Pauvre docteur! il mérite bien cela.

On réimprime le *Médecin de campagne*, il manquait dans le commerce; c'est-il gentil, ça? ...

La veuve Béchet a été sublime: elle a pris à sa charge quatre mille francs de corrections qui étaient à la mienne; c'est-il gentil encore, ça?

Va, si Dieu me prête vie, j'aurai une belle place et nous serons tous heureux; rions donc encore, ma bonne sœur, la maison Balzac triomphera! Crie-le bien fort avec moi pour que la Fortune nous entende, et, pour Dieu! encore une fois, ne te tourmente pas! ...

The letter upon which this fabrication is so largely based (October 26, 1835) closes with the following significant line, referring to Balzac's younger brother: "Rien de nouveau sur Henri. Là est la plaie incurable."

131. *L. 1834*.—The greater part of this letter is a fabrication. One fragment, which is reproduced below, is taken from an undated letter which may be ascribed to October 11 or 18, 1838 (see No. 199 for comments upon that letter). The following fragments will illustrate the stylistic retouches which the published version has undergone:

<sup>1</sup> There follows a long paragraph at this point which has been incorporated in *Corr.*, No. 153.

touchera aux larmes. Je lui dis que j'inscris son nom sur cette pierre de l'édifice autant pour remercier le savant auquel je dois la vie que pour honorer l'ami. Pauvre docteur! il ne me gronde pas trop de lui garder ses 1,600 francs, et 1,600 francs sont pour lui ce que 10,000 francs sont pour madame Delannoy, et 5,000 pour Dablin.

Nous imprimons deux éditions du *Médecin de camp[agne]*, qui manque dans le commerce.

D'ici à huit jours la *Fleur des pois* paraît. La veuve Béchet a été sublime, elle m'a fait grâce de 4,000 francs de corrections à ma charge, et m'a remis 5,000 francs le 13. Sur 31,000 francs elle ne me doit plus que 500 francs, etc., etc.<sup>1</sup>

[October 26, 1835]

Porte-toi bien, prends courage. La maison Balzac triomphera.

"CORR."

MS

La vivacité d'impression que mes chagrins te causent devrait m'interdire de t'en parler; mais le moyen de ne pas épancher mon cœur trop plein près de toi? C'est mal, cependant; il faut une organisation robuste qui vous manque, à vous autres femmes, pour supporter les tourments de la vie d'écrivain.

Je travaille plus que je ne le désirerais; que veux-tu! quand je travaille, j'oublie mes peines, c'est ce qui me sauve; mais toi, tu n'oublies rien! Il y a des gens qui s'offensent de cette faculté, ils redoublent mes tourments en ne me comprenant pas! ...

Le temps que durait jadis l'inspiration produite chez moi par le café diminue; il ne donne plus maintenant que quinze jours d'excitation à mon cerveau: excitation fatale, car elle me cause d'horribles douleurs d'estomac. C'est au surplus le temps que Rossini lui assigne pour son compte.

La vivacité d'impressions que te causent mes tristes affaires m'interdit même la douceur de te les dire. Ma pauvre mère en souffrirait sans y rien pouvoir et sans les entendre, car il faut des organisations spéciales pour comprendre nos vies d'écrivains.

Je travaille nuit et jour; la condition de ces travaux est l'oubli de tout, et il y a des cœurs qui ne conçoivent pas ces oublis momentanés. ...

Aujourd'hui, le temps pendant lequel dure l'inspiration est moins long, le café ne m'anime plus aussi longtemps; il durait deux mois, et cette fois-ci, il n'a pas produit son excitation plus de quinze jours. C'est le terme que Rossini lui assignait pour son compte à lui.

132. *L. 1834*.—Corrected: September 29, 1834. Dated "lundi 29." A reference to *La Recherche de l'absolu*, which had just appeared, gives the correct date. The published version is garbled, and attempts are made to improve the style.

133. *M. 1834*.—Corrected: May, 1837. Undated. Balzac returned to Paris (Rue des Batailles) from Italy the first of May, 1837. This letter is a reply to one which his mother wrote him in April, 1837.

135. *M. August, 1834*.—Corrected: between September 1 and 15, 1834. Undated. "J'ai passé dix nuits sur quinze pour achever ma livraison. ... La livraison paraîtra le 17 ou le 18." This is the third *livraison* of his *Etudes de mœurs*, which appeared in September, 1834. Cf. a letter to M. Hanski, September 16, 1834 (*LEt*, I, 191), which states that his third *livraison* was completed the day before, i.e., September 15.

136. *M. 1834.*—Corrected: possibly October, 1835. This date is subject to caution. Undated. The general financial tone resembles that of letters written in the autumn of 1835, a time when Balzac's debts and worries had reached an alarming peak. Mme de Balzac, in furnished rooms at Chantilly, was promised a monthly allowance of 500 francs from her son; this was rarely ever sent at the appointed time. "Je vais me mettre en mesure pour tes 500 francs de la fin du mois"; "Les héritiers Laurens<sup>1</sup> sont payés." Cf. a letter to his sister, October 12, 1835 (see No. 128): "Je sors de payer 7,000 francs; mon 15 et mon 20 faisaient 3,000; 1,000 à ma mère et 2,300 aux héritiers Laurens";<sup>2</sup> "Ce bon Dablin, un ami excellent, m'a tiré d'affaire avec une grâce de sentiment qui m'a pénétré." Cf. a letter to his sister, September, 1835 (No. 153): "Dablin a été récemment gracieux, obligeant et ami."

138. *M. End of September, 1834.*—Corrected: September 28, 1834. Undated. Written on Sunday at Saché, September, 1834. "Tu recevras, par une boîte qui partira vers jeudi (2 octobre, je crois) ..." gives us the correct date.

147. *L. 1835.*—Corrected: December 13 or 14, 1835. Undated. Letter written the day after the fire at a printer's, Rue du Pot-de-Fer, which destroyed six hundred copies of the first and second *dixain* of the *Contes drolatiques*, as well as one hundred and sixty pages of the third *dixain*.

153. *L. September, 1835.*—Correctly dated. This letter, based largely upon an undated letter which may be assigned to September, 1835, departs radically from the original, and contains a paragraph taken from another letter, written October 26, 1835:

"CORR."

MS

[September, 1835]

Tout se dessine enfin! J'ai deux affaires sur le chantier qui paraissent devoir réussir. En somme, ces deux affaires suffisent à payer novembre et décembre; j'aurai donc payé trente-

Tout se dessine enfin. J'ai deux affaires sur le chantier qui paraissent devoir réussir. En somme, j'ai 11,500 francs à payer en novembre, 9,000 en décembre; et ces deux affaires suffi-

<sup>1</sup> Not *les honoraires Laurens*, as the published version transcribes it.

<sup>2</sup> Balzac had purchased his *fonds d'imprimerie* from Laurens. In August, 1828, at the time of his great failure, he owed Laurens 30,000 francs, of which sum he agreed to pay, with interest, some 7,000 francs. His associate, Barbier, agreed to pay the balance.

six mille francs en ces derniers mois! ...

sent à cela. J'aurai donc payé 36,000 en ces trois derniers mois. Cela posé, je n'ai plus que 27,000 francs en 1836, et le traité des treize volumes d'*Études de mœurs* m'en donne 37,000. Les autres produits des revues me donneront 20,000 francs. Ainsi, tout me porte à croire qu'en mai prochain nous dînerons dans une maison à moi.

[October 26, 1835]

Encore quelques efforts, et j'aurai triomphé d'une grande crise par un faible instrument: une plume!

Si rien ne vient à la traverse, en 1836 je ne devrai plus qu'à ma mère; et, quand je songe à mes désastres et aux tristes années que j'ai traversées, je ne puis me défendre de quelque fierté en pensant qu'à force de courage et de travail, j'aurai conquis ma liberté.

Cette pensée m'a rendu si joyeux, que, l'autre soir, j'ai fait, avec Surville, des projets où vous étiez comptés, mes amis. Je lui faisais bâtir une maison près de la mienne, nos jardins se touchaient, nous mangions ensemble les fruits de nos arbres. ... J'allais bien! ...

Le bon frère a souri en levant les yeux au ciel; il y avait bien de l'affection pour toi et pour moi dans ce sourire; mais j'y ai vu aussi que ni lui ni moi ne tenions encore nos maisons. N'importe, les projets soutiennent le courage, et que Dieu me conserve la santé, nous aurons nos maisons, ma bonne sœur!

Ainsi, ma bonne Laure, en mars prochain, j'aurai donc triomphé d'une crise inouïe, avec le plus faible des instruments, ma plume. En 1828, je devais 120,000 francs, d'après les calculs de Huet. J'ai, pendant quatre ans que je n'ai rien gagné, grossi ma dette de 50,000 francs et j'avais perdu ma dot. De 1833 à 1836, j'aurai tout payé, moins les 40,000 de ma mère, mais j'aurai ma maison, et un mobilier comme en ont les maisons les plus riches de Paris; j'aurai conquis l'une des plus belles places littéraires, une position européenne. Dieu veuille que rien de fâcheux n'arrive, et que je me porte bien.

A côté de ma maison se trouve un terrain qui attendra Surville et l'alma soror; nous aurions deux maisons, deux jardins contigus. Encore un souhait! Je l'ai dit à Surville, le bon Surville a levé les yeux au ciel avec un désir où tu entrerais pour beaucoup, j'en suis sûr.

154. *L. October, 1835.*—A forgery, containing parts of two letters, to which the following dates may be assigned: (1) Paris,

beginning of March (?), 1834, and (2) La Bouleauinière, October 19, 1835.

161. *M. January 1, 1836*.—Corrected: beginning of January, 1835. Undated. After establishing the month as January, the year may be determined as follows:

Je vais, du 10 au 20, m'enfermer avec Auguste dans l'imprimerie de Barbier pour y faire cinquante feuillets en dix jours, afin de terminer l'œuvre pour madame Béchet. ...

[Auguste Depril, his valet, doubtless. Not Auguste Borget. His fourth *livraison* for Mme Béchet. In Félix Davin's Introduction to the *Etudes philosophiques*, written December 6, 1834, under Balzac's guidance, it is announced that the fourth *livraison* has been delayed, but will appear in a few days. It had been promised for January, 1835, but did not actually appear until May.]

Cette semaine et l'autre encore je fais la *Revue de Paris*.

[The beginning of a complicated and cloudy chapter. In January, 1835, *Le Père Goriot* was appearing in the *Revue de Paris*; in January, 1836, Balzac had left this review.]

Madame de B[erny] se meurt.

[On January 4, 1835, Balzac returned from a two-day visit to La Bouleauinière, where he had found Mme de Berny desperately ill.]

La *Revue* à faire pendant trois dimanches de janvier ... et, outre cela, la deuxième livraison de Werdet.

[The first *livraison* of the *Etudes philosophiques* appeared in January, 1835; the second, not until September, 1836, although Balzac promised it repeatedly during the intervening period, and Werdet made many announcements of it in catalogues and on the wrappers of his new publications.]

179. *L. November, 1837*.—Corrected: November 15, 1837. Undated. "Il faut que *César Birotteau* ... soit fini le 10 décembre. Il faut passer 25 nuits, et j'ai commencé ce matin."

188. *L. 1838*.—Corrected: May, 1838. Undated. Written in Milan, after his Sardinian expedition.

199. *L. 1839*.—Corrected: October 11 or 18, 1838. Letter is headed "mardi." Its tone resembles closely that of a letter to Mme Hanska,

October 15, 1838 (*LEt*, I, 491-97): "J'ai écrit les deux volumes de *Qui a terre a guerre* en cinq jours. J'ai écrit le *Curé de village*<sup>1</sup> en deux nuits." Cf. a letter to Mme Hanska, September 17, 1838: "J'ai écrit le commencement du *Curé de village*. ... Je viens d'écrire deux volumes in-8° intitulés: *Qui a terre a guerre*" (*ibid.*, p. 488).

201. *L. 1839*.—Corrected: December 11, 1838. Undated. "La Renaissance capitule et me donnerait 15,000 francs d'avance. ... J'ai écrit la semaine passée 55 feuilles d'impression; il en faut autant celle-ci." Cf. letter to A. Pérémé, December 11, 1838 (published by Spoelberch de Lovenjoul, *Autour de Honoré de Balzac*, p. 129): "Les cinquante-cinq [feuilles] de cette semaine représentent quatorze mille francs, et j'en fais autant cette semaine [-ci]." In this same letter to Pérémé, Balzac agrees to furnish a play for the Renaissance Theater within a set time to be agreed upon the following week; and although 16,000 francs as advance payment had been mentioned, he agrees to 15,000 francs.

206. *M. March or April, 1839*.—Corrected: April 24, 1844. Letter is headed "mercredi." Mme de Balzac's reply, on May 7, 1844, together with the heading of this letter, "mercredi," determines the correct date.

208. *M. Wednesday, 1839*.—Corrected: October 28, 1840. Letter is headed "mercredi." This is a reply to Mme de Balzac's letter of October 22, 1840, and was written on the last Wednesday of October.

229. *L. September 23, 1840*.—A forgery, composed of odd bits of letters of various dates.

245. *L. 1842*.—Corrected: between July 10 and 26, 1845. Undated. Balzac and Mme Hanska arrived at Passy from Germany about July 10, 1845. Mme de Balzac's fête—"la Sainte-Anne"—was July 26.

305. *L. 1846*.—Corrected: April, 1846. Undated. Letter written from Rome and Civita-Vecchia.

331. *L. October 8, 1847*.—Corrected: October, 1847. We have no evidence to warrant a more precise date.

342. *M. November 6, 1848*.—Corrected: November 6, 1849, as shown by the postmarks: Berdigeve, Berlin, and Valenciennes. In this

<sup>1</sup> Balzac means a fragment of the novel which today bears this title. This fragment appeared in the *Presse*.

letter Balzac's financial situation is carefully glossed over; for example:

"CORR."

Enfin, ma chère mère, voilà une terrible année terminée! elle a coûté des efforts qu'il est impossible de recommencer. Et n'y a-t-il pas de quoi effrayer en pensant qu'il sera dû encore tant d'argent pour cette maison?

MS

Enfin, ma chère mère, voilà une terrible année terminée. Elle a coûté, y compris le paiement futur des 20,000 francs, des efforts qu'il est impossible de recommencer. Et n'y a-t-il pas de quoi effrayer en pensant qu'il sera dû encore 20,000 francs pour la maison, 32,000 à M. Damet, et 17,000 à MM. de Rothschild, en tout 67,000. Cette somme seule est une fortune, et où trouver cela, lorsque voici les revenus de l'année [18]50 déjà employés. Quand à moi, outre Dablin, je dois bien encore 12,000 francs.

343. *L. November, 1848*.—Corrected: February or March, 1848. Undated. Written shortly after his return from Russia in February.

344. *N. November, 1848*.—Corrected: November 29, 1849. So dated. The history of this letter is noted by Spoelberch de Lovenjoul on the manuscript: "Cette lettre n'avait jamais été envoyée. Madame Hanska l'avait gardée, et elle en a donné une copie inexacte, qui a été imprimée ainsi dans la *Correspondance*. Après sa mort, j'ai ramassé l'autographe à terre dans sa maison, où il traînait, mêlé à des montagnes d'autres papiers." Since Balzac, in a letter to his sister on this date (November 29, 1849), announces that he is writing to his nieces, and since Mme Hanska had furnished an inaccurate date for the letter under discussion, the editors of the *Correspondance* published under the date of November, 1849, a letter which Balzac actually wrote to his nieces in November, 1848 (see No. 370)!

345. *M. November 29, 1848*.—Corrected: November 29, 1849. So dated. Stylistic retouches throughout: "Toi seule peux lui apprendre [*enseigner* in *Corr.*] à avoir des mains de fille flamande"; "Tâche surtout de lui donner [*inspirer* in *Corr.*] de l'attachement à la maison," etc.

355. *M. February, 1849*.—A fabrication, containing fragments of two lengthy letters dated January 22, 1849, and February 9, 1849.

356. *L. March 3, 1849.*—Corrected: March 3, 1850. So dated. Stylistic retouches throughout; for example:

"CORR."

MS

Nous allons tâcher maintenant de remédier à cette atonie musculaire. ...

Nous allons nous remettre de remédier à cette atonie musculaire. ...

L'état de la Gallicie offre aujourd'hui de si graves dangers aux voyageurs. ...

L'état de la Gallicie est tellement grave pour les voyageurs. ...

La conclusion de la grande affaire de toute ma vie rencontre des difficultés malheureusement prévues et causées par de simples formalités; en sort que, bien qu'il nous tarde à l'un comme à l'autre de voir la rue Fortunée, il y a une grande incertitude sur le départ.

La conclusion ... difficultés purement privées et causées par des formalités; en sorte que, malgré une mutuelle envie de voir la rue Fortunée, il y a etc.

360. *N. April, 1849.*—Corrected: April 30, 1849. Undated. Letter forwarded to his nieces in letters to his mother and sister of April 30, 1849.

361. *M. April 30, 1849.*—Correctly dated. One-half of this letter has been omitted in the published version: eleven paragraphs (some of them subdivided) of instructions and errands, all having to do with preparations for his homecoming, Rue Fortunée.

366. *L. October 20, 1849.*—Corrected: October 20-21, 1849. So dated. Long passages omitted: his belief that Dablin had turned against him; the financial difficulties of his Russian friends. In the concluding phrase, "toi, vieille compagne de ma triste jeunesse," *triste* has been omitted in the *Correspondance*.

369. *L. November 29, 1849.*—Correctly dated. Over one-half of this letter has been omitted in the published version, including a severe criticism of Dablin and a satiric portrait of Laurent-Jan.

370. *N. November, 1849.*—Corrected: after the middle of November, 1848 (see No. 344). Undated. The year may be determined by references to the recent revolution in France. Before November 17, 1848, Balzac had written only business letters from Wierzchownia to

his mother, although he promised to write shortly to his sister and his nieces.

Four types of inaccuracies are to be noted in the published letters which have been the matter of the foregoing commentary: errors in dating, stylistic retouches, suppressions, and elaborations, or, what is still worse, actual fabrications. No amount of marginal emendation will ever resolve the volume of Balzac's general correspondence into a useful tool; it must definitely be discarded.

It would be futile to stress further the inaccuracies noted above, although some slight justification for their presence might be mentioned. Over a half-century has now elapsed since the publication of these letters. The problem of dating them becomes easier of solution with the passing of time and the patient survey of many pertinent documents which we now possess. Furthermore, let us remember that, at the time of their publication, these letters were the legal property of Balzac's heirs.<sup>1</sup> To them the creator of the *Comédie humaine* still represented a private individual, one who had but lately left the family circle. Let us not be surprised to find, therefore, that those pages which were filled with details of a strictly private life were sedulously deleted. Debts and mad speculations, unfulfilled obligations and literary projects; the pathological unrest of Mme de Balzac; Laurence's husband and Henry's wife were all suppressed; while, as if to atone for these blemishes, a romantic glow was shed upon the stolid respectability of the Survilles. Today we feel differently. Balzac, through his genius, has been lifted from the sphere of a private individual; he represents, as a Molière or a Voltaire, a moment in French culture. Today we feel that no harm can come to him if we reveal him as he was—surrounded by publishers' contracts, proof revisions, debts, worries, and family misunderstandings. The personality of the artist, stripped of legend, lies at the core of these letters, is revealed just as firmly as within the pages of *Illusions perdues* or *Les Paysans*. Therefore, we hesitate to delete a single line.

No excuses may be offered for the elaborate fabrication of documents which Balzac never composed; nor for the ineffective attempts

<sup>1</sup> One-half of the family letters were the property of a grandnephew, M. Laurent-Duhamel; one-half, the property of a grandniece, Mme Pierre Carrier-Belleuse.

of editors to improve the style of his correspondence. When he stands youthfully upon the threshold of fame, calling for ortolans to garnish his empty plate, he declaims boldly his *deux passions*: *l'amour et la gloire*. Surely we need no lyrical variation of this clearly enunciated theme such as we are given in the general correspondence: "Laure, Laure, mes deux seuls et immenses désirs, être célèbre et être aimé!" When, later, the harassed artist bewails his *tristes affaires*, we understand him; we lose a certain Balzacian flavor when those two words are translated by his editors as *chagrins*. Likewise, if he writes "malgré une mutuelle envie de voir la rue Fortunée," no improvement is offered when his editors transcribe these words differently: "bien qu'il nous tarde à l'un comme à l'autre de voir la rue Fortunée."

No romantic embroidery is today necessary to convince us of Balzac's genius. Here, again, let us not forget the accusations which were leveled against him by the critics, during his lifetime and for years after his death. The critics insisted that Balzac "wrote badly." Today, we have restricted that adverse judgment; and no truism is more complete than that which was uttered by Brunetière, some thirty years after the appearance of the published letters, to the effect that Balzac had largely modified our very notion of style. We feel this today, and we no longer reproach him for writing badly. We must therefore cast out as unworthy any attempts to improve his style.<sup>1</sup>

The day of legend is past. We are no longer afraid that the details of a strictly private life may belittle the author of a *Comédie humaine*; we fear much more the misrepresentations of well-meaning persons who "edited" Balzac in the past. Until this fear is removed we cannot hope to see him clear or see him whole.

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<sup>1</sup> If this were the place, one would be tempted at this point to compare the stylistic retouches, such, e.g., as are exhibited in Nos. 131 and 356, with similar "improvements" in his fiction, made after Balzac's death by the editors of the Calmann-Lévy text of his complete works. E.g., in *Eugénie Grandet*: "Madame Grandet mettait constamment [Calmann-Lévy: *invariablement*] une robe de levantine"; "comme si leur bourse était [Calmann-Lévy: *eût été*] commune"; "votre affaire ne sera jamais [Calmann-Lévy: *aura du mal à être*] bonne"; "elle pesa [Calmann-Lévy: *soupesa*] fort orgueilleusement cette bourse," etc., etc.

## THE MYSTICAL ELEMENT IN CARLYLE (1827-34)

WHETHER Carlyle was ever really a mystic—and, if so, to what extent—has been a question which his critics have found peculiarly interesting and difficult. Falling into a common error, they have at times treated his teachings as if he had never thundered his imprecations on "System-builders and Sect-founders," or rejected the imputation of being either a pantheist, "Pottheist," theist, "or any *ist* whatsoever."<sup>1</sup> Thus when we inquire into the existence and nature of his mysticism, we receive from Carlyle a variety of answers. Are we to believe, for instance, with Camille Bos, that "Carlyle ... a sa place marquée parmi les grands mystiques, dans cette lignée qui va de Maître Eckhardt à ... Novalis," and with von Hügel, that to shear from him his mystical element is to shear Samson of his locks?<sup>2</sup> Shall we agree with H. L. Stewart and Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, who regard him as undoubtedly mystical in certain aspects of his doctrines, or with J. M. Robertson, who concedes to him only a "certain vein of elementary mysticism," along with some transcendentalism, as "one of the borrowed fashions of his youth"?<sup>3</sup> What shall we say of Masson's belief that he was "the reverse of a mystic" and "went through the world as a fervid theist," or of Dean Inge's opinion that Carlyle's philosophy "is wanting some of the essential features of Mysticism, and can hardly be called Christian without stretching the word too far"?<sup>4</sup> In view of such conflicting opinions, the truth would seem to be that whatever was the mystical element in Carlyle, it has not been easily recognized or defined. The nature of

<sup>1</sup> *Letters of Thomas Carlyle to John Stuart Mill, John Sterling, and Robert Browning*, ed. A. Carlyle (London, 1923), p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> Marie Bœuf (pseud., Camille Bos), "Le Kantisme de Carlyle," *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, XV (1902), 40; Baron Fr. von Hügel, *The Mystical Element of Religion* (2d ed.; New York, 1923), II, 271-72.

<sup>3</sup> Stewart, "Carlyle's Place in Philosophy," *Monist*, April, 1919, p. 173; Spurgeon, *Mysticism in English Literature* (New York, 1913), pp. 106-7; Robertson, *Modern Humanists* (London, 1891), pp. 15, 17, 50.

<sup>4</sup> David Masson, *Carlyle Personally and in His Writings* (London, 1885), pp. 70, 80; W. R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism* (London, 1899), p. 320. See also William Barry, *Heralds of Revolt* (London, 1904), p. 73, and H. Schütz Wilson, *History and Criticism* (London, 1896), p. 254, for discussions of Carlyle's God as that of the Old Testament, and as Nemesis-like. On the other hand, Carlyle is considered mystical by Taine, in *L'Idéalisme anglais: Etude sur Carlyle* (Paris, 1864), pp. 53, 93, 99-109, 111-17.

his thought is too heterogeneous, too uncertain in outline, to permit a ready classification. It may therefore be interesting to look into the so-called mystical aspect of his teachings, to attempt to identify it, and, without touching in detail the question of origins, simply to isolate and determine as far as possible the nature of Carlylean mysticism. It will be seen, I think, that although Carlyle never developed a complete or entirely self-consistent mysticism, he belongs in the company of the world's great mystical thinkers.

## I

That Carlyle was at best only a mystical thinker, rather than a mystic proper, was due, I believe, to several persistent elements in his nature: his puritanism, his stoicism—to which few critics of Carlyle have given due emphasis—and the undogmatic Christianity which survived in him from the teachings of his mother. He dwelt always “in our great Taskmaster’s eye,” and was conscious to the end of the importance to God of man’s slightest act. Agreeing with the Puritans that “the right and wrong of . . . life” extends itself “into Eternity and Infinitude,” he admitted to a friend that “[puritanism] is at bottom my religion too.”<sup>1</sup> From this Calvinistic emphasis on man’s moral relationship to God, however, he at times leaned toward a purely stoical position, extolling that element in “Calvinism, which is Hyper Stoicism,” and remembering always his early admiration of Epictetus and “the solitary happiness of the Stoic.”<sup>2</sup> Yet even the austerity of Calvinism required at moments a reinforcement; and we find him admiring the Moslem’s fortitude and submission: “I live in a kind of Christian Islam (which signifies ‘submission to God’), and say at all turns of fortune, ‘God is great’ and also ‘God is good.’ . . .”<sup>3</sup> Beneath these three elements of puritanism, stoicism, and Moslem-like fortitude, there lay the simple traditional Christianity, partially expressed in the quite orthodox condolences he sent to his mother, to his brother John, to Mill, and to many others, notably in the use of such phrases as “gone to our Maker,” “our inscrutable

<sup>1</sup> *Letters of Thomas Carlyle*, ed. C. E. Norton (London, 1899), p. 278: “We are ever in our great Taskmaster’s eye” (with a reference to Milton). See also *New Letters of Thomas Carlyle*, ed. A. Carlyle (London, 1904), I, 314.

<sup>2</sup> *New Letters*, I, 262; *Early Letters of Thomas Carlyle*, ed. C. E. Norton (London, 1886), I, 206.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters to Mill, Sterling, Browning*, p. 95.

Author . . . God's will be done."<sup>1</sup> So mingled and curiously interwoven are these four elements in Carlyle's nature, and so peculiarly do they mix at times with mystical doctrines, that it is possible indeed to find many seemingly mystical passages in Carlyle turning out, on examination, to be merely the expression of general Christian feeling, not specifically mystical in nature.

Still another feature of his thinking must be considered as somewhat complicating our question: his individual treatment of the transcendentalism of Kant, Fichte, Novalis, and Schelling, and of the pantheistic interpretation of nature which he found in Goethe. Their doctrines encouraged his search for religious certainty without requiring the formulation of a completely rounded point of view. He welcomed in the German Romantics their sense of the transcendental, which had been stimulated by Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*, or developed, as in Goethe, by the philosophy of Spinoza.<sup>2</sup> He found in them also a strain of mysticism, which Friedrich von Schlegel, Tieck, Werner, and Novalis acknowledged as a debt to Boehme and earlier mystics.<sup>3</sup> Even those ideas which they expressed with no intention of mysticism were often susceptible to mystical interpretation. Already disposed to belief rather than to metaphysical speculation, he selected from their doctrines those conceptions which most satisfyingly phrased what was left of his religious notions after his encounter with Gibbon, Hume, and the French Enlightenment. This individual and eclectic treatment of German ideas makes it extremely difficult, and at times impossible, to state with certainty whether a given passage of apparently mystical content is his own original thought or his mystical interpretation of, say, an isolated passage from *Faust*, or the *Wissenschaftslehre*, or Schelling's *Methode des akademischen Studiums*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *New Letters*, II, 183; *Letters of T. C.*, p. 350.

<sup>2</sup> Marie Joachimi, *Die Weltanschauung der deutschen Romantik* (Jena and Leipzig), pp. 5 ff.; R. Haym, *Die romantische Schule* (Berlin, 1920), pp. 12-16, etc.; C. F. Harrold, "Carlyle's Interpretation of Kant," *Philological Quarterly*, VII (1928), 345-57.

<sup>3</sup> E. Ederheimer, *Jacob Boehme und die Romantiker* (Heidelberg, 1904), pp. 26-56 (Boehme and Tieck), pp. 57-125 (Boehme and Novalis); W. Feilchenfeld, *Der Einfluss Jacob Boehmes auf Novalis* (Berlin, 1922), pp. 15, 101, 104, 106; Joachimi, pp. 14, 25, 33-34, 39, 47, etc.; C. F. Harrold, "Carlyle and Novalis," *Studies in Philology*, XXVII (1930), 47-63.

<sup>4</sup> The limits of Carlyle's debt to German thought and the extent to which he employed it in restating his own beliefs have been indicated by Margaret Storrs, *The Relation of Carlyle to Kant and Fichte* (Bryn Mawr, 1929); B. Fehr, "Der deutsche Idealismus in Carlyles Sartor Resartus," *Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift*, V (1913), 81-101; and

For in appropriating German ideas he seldom left them unchanged, and he rarely acknowledged his indebtedness. He not only discusses his own doctrines in terms of German thought—as, for example, his clothes philosophy in Goethe's language<sup>1</sup>—but he also discusses German ideas in terms of his own thinking, as when he transforms Kant's "Reason" into spiritual insight or intuition.<sup>2</sup> Thus our present question of whether Carlyle was or was not a mystic has little directly to do with his German sources. They serve often to obscure the problem. Mysticism was in the air; and the question whether Carlyle was a mystic because he read the Germans, or read their works because he was a mystic, may be answered by saying that he would have been "mystically minded" if he had never learned their language, but that they reinforced certain elements in him which, we shall see, made him by nature something of a mystic.

Still other, and final, considerations of his unmythical side, however, are necessary before we proceed. In the first place, no one acquainted with the cardinal beliefs of representative mystics would expect Carlyle ever to have sought the final stages of mystical experi-

W. Leopold, *Die Religiöse Wurzel von Carlyles literarischer Wirksamkeit* . . . (Halle, 1922). These studies show that from Kant he appropriated the subjective nature of space and time, and the distinction between the reason and the understanding; and from Fichte, much of his notion of heroes, of history as revelation of divine energy (periodic in rhythm), of the individual soul as part of the divine idea lying at the bottom of appearance, and of the divine nature of work. Carlyle's borrowings from Schelling cannot be easily traced by verbal parallels, but Leopold and Fehr have suggested that from Schelling's works Carlyle took the idea of the dynamic nature of reality, the idea of process (or revelation of the divine) through the clash of opposites, the imagery of the abyss and the Godhead, of the "Absolute" and its manifestation in history, art, religion, etc., and the notion of the ultimate union of religion, art, and philosophy. Carlyle's contact with mysticism—especially that of Eckhart and Boehme—through Schelling, has been suggested by P. Hensel, *Carlyle* (3d ed. rev.; Stuttgart, 1922), pp. 64 ff.; and by L. Cazamian, *Carlyle* (Paris, 1913), pp. 34 ff. R. Wellek, in "Carlyle and German Romanticism," *Xenia pragensis* (Prague: Sumptibus Societatis Neophilologorum, 1920), pp. 375–403, agrees with J.-M. Carré (*Goethe en Angleterre* [Paris, 1920], p. 102) that Carlyle's German studies have been greatly exaggerated by the Germans (p. 377); he maintains also that Jean Paul's influence on him was greater than that of Kant, Fichte, or even Goethe (p. 401), and suggests that much of Carlyle's attitude toward German thought—especially Kantianism—was that of Jacobi, whom we know Carlyle read with considerable satisfaction (D. A. Wilson, *Carlyle till Marriage* [London, 1923], p. 387).

<sup>1</sup> Sartor Resartus (Centenary ed.), p. 43; *Faust*, Part I, scene i (song of the Earth-Spirit). Carlyle's transformation of Goethe's doctrines of *Entsagen*, the worship of sorrow, and nature as the garment of God, into religious or quasi-mystical ideas has been dealt with by O. Baumgarten, *Carlyle und Goethe* (Tübingen, 1906), pp. 124 ff., and by Carré, *op. cit.*, pp. 143 ff. Goethe's relation to Carlyle's mysticism is complicated by the fact that Goethe, who was a pantheist, was not a mystic, and Carlyle, who was to some extent a mystic, denied being a pantheist (*Letters to Mill, Sterling, etc.*, p. 193).

<sup>2</sup> Harrold, "Carlyle's Interpretation of Kant," *PQ*, VII, 353.

ence. No one looks into his writings for "the dark night of the soul" of St. John of the Cross, or for Boehme's distinction between the "Byss" and the "Abyss," or for Eckhart's "spark of the soul." And just as Carlyle never pursued such metaphysical and spiritual distinctions to any length, so was he unable by nature to pursue the *scala perfectionis*, whereby the true mystic proceeds from "purgation" through "illumination" to a final "unitive life,"<sup>1</sup> wherein "le sentiment d'un être tout à la fois *excessif et identique* au moi" becomes an abiding state of communion with reality.<sup>2</sup> Carlyle's "world-flight" never reached the limit of a real renouncing of the world—though he constantly preached it—or of a reconciliation with its imperfections. His "purgation" amounted only to a Calvinistic rejection of worldly ease, and his "illumination" never went farther than "a flash of rudimentary vision" into the "otherness of natural things," which is a common form of "seeing God in Nature."<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the absence of harmony and joy from his life and writings argues a dissonance in such mysticism as he did profess.<sup>4</sup> Like Teufelsdröckh, he pitched his tent "under a Cypress-tree,"<sup>5</sup> and never ceased to show, in the tumult of his prose and in the anger and cynicism he felt for his generation, how little joy and peace—mystical or otherwise—he ever attained. And we note, finally, that as he increasingly found contact with the concrete problems of his time he drew farther and farther away from his early mystical preoccupations. The tangible, factual details of his history, the didactic value of biography, and the urgent nature of current social problems, all became at length dominant in his mind. We find him most engrossed in mysticism, and most frequently alluding to it in his letters, during the comparative solitude of his "Dunscore Patmos" at Craigenputtock (1828-34), where his remoteness from the world's visible problems permitted the contemplative, semimystical

<sup>1</sup> Inge, p. 9; Evelyn Underhill, "The Mystic Way," *Mysticism* (New York, 1911), pp. 203 ff.

<sup>2</sup> E. Récéjac, *Essai sur les fondements de la connaissance mystique* (Paris, 1897), p. 46. Cf. E. Boutroux, "Psychology of Mysticism," *International Journal of Ethics*, XVIII (1908), 184-85. I shall not attempt to define what I mean by "mysticism," but leave the term to define itself as we proceed to observe what it meant to the mystics themselves.

<sup>3</sup> Underhill, p. 282.

<sup>4</sup> "'Harmony' and 'Joy' . . . are the two words used most constantly by those who have experienced this [mystical] vision" (Spurgeon, p. 8; cf. Underhill, p. 103; Boutroux, p. 183).

<sup>5</sup> *Sartor*, pp. 85-86. (All references to *Sartor Resartus* are to the Centenary edition.)

side of him to dominate the deeply practical and realistic forces in his nature. The limits of the present inquiry are thus laid down by the dates 1827 and 1834, from the publication of his first essay on Richter—written at Comley Bank, before he withdrew to Craigenputtock—to his departure from the latter place for London, where *The French Revolution* was to occupy him for over two years and turn his thoughts to more and more practical fields. In dealing with this early reflective period of the first essays, however, it is necessary constantly to bear in mind the very sturdily unmystical aspects of Carlyle's genius.<sup>1</sup> For his work reveals a curious blending of stoicism, Hebraism, Calvinism, and transcendentalism, wherein the presence of mysticism is so fleeting as to invite denial, and yet so unmistakable as to merit study.

## II

When Carlyle writes that "all speculation is by nature endless, formless, a vortex amid vortices," and that it is "only by a felt indubitable certainty of Experience"<sup>2</sup> that man can come to the heart of truth, he suggests an affinity with the mystic's view that ultimate knowledge is denied to speculative reason. With the *Theologia Germanica*, Carlyle could easily have said, "He who would know before he believeth cometh never to true knowledge. . . . I speak of a certain truth which it is possible to know by experience, but which ye must believe in before ye know it by experience. . . ." Such "knowledge" comes through desire and will. "Le Mysticisme," says Récéjac, "... affecte de prendre conscience de l'Inconnaissable sans aucun secours de dialectique et croit arriver par voie d'amour et de volonté où la pensée, seule, ne peut atteindre."<sup>3</sup> The will plays an important part in Carlyle's doctrines. If he could say that "man can create as by a *Fiat*," it was easy to believe that he could know by a similar act of

<sup>1</sup> It must not be forgotten, e.g., that Masson's phrase, "a fervid theist," does describe Carlyle when he writes, as in numerous passages, as if his God were largely a stern judge, and more transcendent than immanent: "The Maker's Laws, whether they are promulgated in Sinai Thunder, to the ear of the imagination, or . . . otherwise . . . , are the Laws of God" (*Past and Present*, ed. E. Mims [New York, 1918], p. 265). The theistic, unmystical references to God become more and more noticeable in Carlyle's later years, especially after *Cromwell* (1845).

<sup>2</sup> *Sartor*, p. 156.

<sup>3</sup> *Theologia Germanica*, trans. Susanna Winkworth (London, 1893), pp. 190-91; Récéjac, p. 7.

will. It was natural that he should seek—in German thought and elsewhere—for a suitable term to designate a faculty which, in reality, was mystical intuition. Avoiding a term so unpopular in his own time, he seized the Kantian term "Reason" and interpreted it in the light of Fichte's doctrine of the ego as that doctrine came to Carlyle through Novalis. That Carlyle's "Reason"—and what he evidently means by it—has little to distinguish it from mystical intuition is clear from his account of how the "Beginnings of Truths fell mysteriously over" Teufelsdröckh's "soul," as the professor felt, in the inarticulate depths of his being, that his longing and his will had opened up new worlds of truth and action.<sup>1</sup> When we fully realize that with Carlyle all ultimate, all really valuable knowledge partakes of insight and will rather than of ordinary intellectual comprehension, we are better able to appreciate his repugnance for the dominating Victorian approach to the problems around him. Was he not a mystic among men of reason? His assumptions, his terms, and his methods of thought were all out of harmony with ordinary reason. To him it was the simplest of acts to know those realities about which, he declared, the metaphysician's understanding impotently wheels, unable to come to the center of his question. This is not to say, of course, that Carlyle knew the real nature of his knowledge, or could express it in words for our complete comprehension. On the contrary, to be able to express his knowledge would be to subject it to the limiting conditions of the intellect, which, being "self-devouring, engenders monstrosities, phantasms . . . chimeras."<sup>2</sup> Nor is it to say that it lacks an element of absurdity. Indeed, the act of believing became increasingly a mystery to him; and of its absurdity he could say with Faust, "In deinen Nichts hoff' ich das All zu finden."<sup>3</sup> The chief reply which the mystic will make to the charge of absurdity and obscurity is to declare the ineffability of his knowledge. This Carlyle does in numerous passages. He is as certain as Eckhart that "God is nameless," as convinced as Plotinus that "the One is in reality ineffable." It is true that he uses Goethe's

<sup>1</sup> Sartor, pp. 150, 158.

<sup>2</sup> *Characteristicks* (People's ed.), p. 24. (References to the *Essays* are, as noted, either to the Centenary or to the People's editions.)

<sup>3</sup> "With me," writes Carlyle to Mill in 1841, "the act of believing gets ever more amazing, indescribable . . ." (*Letters to Mill, Sterling, etc.*, p. 176); *Faust*, Part I, scene iv (Gloomy Gallery), Faust's eighth speech.

language—"Wer darf Ihn nennen?"—but the reality is as elusive and inexpressible as the "Nameless Being" of Ruysbroek.<sup>1</sup>

This belief becomes clearer when we note that in the early essays Carlyle seldom refers to God without also referring to eternity and infinity. For him God is ineffable partly because he is thought of in terms of "the Unfathomable," "the impalpable Inane," "the dark bottomless Abyss," "the abysses of Being," "the silent Immensity and Palace of the Eternal," "the circumambient Void," "the Silence of deep Eternities."<sup>2</sup> Such phrases may remind us of Tauler's "Divine Abyss of God"; or of the pseudo-Dionysius' "dazzling obscurity of the Secret Silence," and the "Divine Darkness"; of Ruysbroek's "Dim Silence" and "Eternal Rest"; or of Boehme's *Grund* and *Abgrund*.<sup>3</sup> In such terms the mystic seeks to express ineffable reality as a silent, timeless, spaceless void. It is natural for him to emphasize the beauty and efficacy of silence. For to him silence is both a way and a goal, both the medium for ultimate knowledge and the grand characteristic of the known itself. "Be still, be still, and know," says he. Such might also have been the admonition of Teufelsdröckh, who wrote: "The sight reaches forth into the void Deep, and you are alone with the Universe, and *silently* commune with it, as one mysterious presence with another."<sup>4</sup> Certainly if Carlyle ever read Boehme, he must have welcomed the assurance that "wenn du stille schweigest, so bist du das, was Gott von Natur und Kreatur war, daraus er deine Natur und Kreatur machte." It assured him not only of the efficacy of silence but also of a further conception, that the soul contains a "residue of

<sup>1</sup> Inge, *Light, Life, and Love: Selections from the German Mystics of the Middle Ages* (London, 1904), pp. 1-2; Goethe, *Faust*, Part I, scene xvi. Of Carlyle's frequent uses of Goethe's line, the following are representative citations: *Letters to Mill, Sterling, etc.*, p. 193, and *Past and Present* (Cent. ed.), p. 265. See also Underhill, *Ruysbroek* (London, 1915), p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., respectively, in the Centenary edition, *Sartor*, pp. 144, 58; *Richter* (1827), p. 14; *Sartor*, p. 143; *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, p. 17; and *Past and Present* (ed. Mims), p. 232.

<sup>3</sup> W. Kingsland, *Anthology of Mysticism* (London, 1927), p. 49; Dionysius Areopagite, *On the Divine Names and the Mystical Theology*, trans. C. E. Rolt (London, 1920), pp. 191-92; Underhill, *Ruysbroek*, p. 64; Jacob Boehme, *Theosophia*, in *Werke*, VI, 470; *Signatura rerum*, *ibid.*, IV, 431. Carlyle's favorite expression, "Deep calling unto Deep" (*Sartor*, p. 46), recalls Ps. 43:7; cf. Joachimi (p. 39) for a statement of Fr. von Schlegel's indebtedness to Boehme for his conception of the "Abyssus von Individualität"; Carlyle was probably acquainted with Schlegel's *Ideen* (47) in which the phrase occurs. In regard to the pseudo-Dionysius, I think it beyond doubt that Carlyle was familiar with the *Teologia mistica*, which he regarded as mystical in the sense that Transcendentalism is mystical (*Novalis* [People's ed.], p. 205).

<sup>4</sup> This passage suggests the mystic's "silent orison," yet it cannot be taken as evidence of any mystical "practice" by Carlyle (*Sartor*, p. 41). (Italics added.)

God."<sup>1</sup> His own belief in a "God-like that is in man," and in "the Holy-of-Holies of Man's Soul," does indeed bear an occasional resemblance to Eckhart's doctrine of *Synteresis*, or the "spark of the soul," especially since Eckhart identified the "spark" with "the highest reason" (*die wirkende Vernunft*) in apparently the same fashion that Carlyle interpreted the Kantian "reason" as a faculty for penetrating into "that holier region, where Poetry, Virtue, and Divinity abide," and for seizing upon that "Primitive Truth" which Schelling and Novalis, following Boehme, had sought to reach.<sup>2</sup> To find in Carlyle, therefore, such teachings as the ineffability of the highest knowledge, the Godhead as "the abyss of Being," the importance of silence as both a path and a goal, and the finite soul as containing a "spark" of the Infinite whereby knowledge of God is possible—to find such ideas in *Sartor Resartus* and the *Essays* argues the mystical cast of much of his thought.

Another doctrine which tends to unite Carlyle, to some extent, with the mystics is that of the eternal "bodying forth" of the Infinite in the forms of the finite world. That matter is the manifestation of spirit is not, of course, a belief peculiar to the mystics. "The conception of the cosmos as the mechanism of self-expression for the infinite has flowed through all ages of thought like a subterranean stream."<sup>3</sup> Carlyle was undoubtedly struck by its mystical possibilities in the later works of Schelling, and in Fichte, who sought, in vain, to prevent any mystical interpretation of his teachings.<sup>4</sup> Since, however, this

<sup>1</sup> Boehme, *Weg zu Christo* (Werke, ed. K. W. Schiebeler [Leipzig, 1860], Vol. I), p. 131. Spurgeon (p. 28) declares that Carlyle read Boehme through the suggestion of Thomas Erskine of Linlathen. W. S. Palmer (*Confessions of Jacob Boehme* [London, 1920], p. vii) notes that John Sterling (one of Carlyle's most intimate friends) was a reader of Boehme. At one time (*German Literature* [People's ed.], p. 62) Carlyle regarded Boehme as "a simple nature," choked into an "inexpressible rhapsody" by thoughts beyond the control of his unlettered mind. How he came finally to regard him, and how much of Boehme he read, I have been unable to determine.

<sup>2</sup> *Sartor*, pp. 148, 153; Inge, p. 158; Carlyle, *State of German Literature* (Cent. ed.), pp. 79, 83. Cf. J. Watson, *Schelling's Transcendental Idealism* (Chicago, 1892), pp. 223 ff. Like Fichte, Carlyle at times identifies Reason with the activity of the ego, which is a part of the Divine Idea, a finite individualization. This probably supplied him, in philosophical language, with what in Eckhart's treatment is usually regarded as a central mystical doctrine, that the soul contains an actual "portion" of God.

<sup>3</sup> Helen F. Dunbar, *Symbolism in Medieval Thought and Its Consummation in "The Divine Comedy"* (New Haven, 1929), p. 16. It is interesting to find the conception expressed in Dante, whom, among mystics, Carlyle regarded as "a chief man of that class" (*Novalis* [People's ed.], p. 201). Cf. Dante, *Paradiso*, ll. 52-66.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Schelling, *Philosophische Untersuchungen über das Wesen der menschlichen Freiheit und die damit zusammenhängenden Gegenstände* (1809); Fichte, *Anweisung zum seligen Leben* (1801). Fehr (p. 87) discusses Fichte's rejection of mystical interpretation.

phase of Carlyle's thought has been dealt with elsewhere, notably by Margaret Storrs, we may note only that Carlyle could have found in the Bible, especially in the Johannine writings and the Pauline epistles, some early intimations, in vivid phrasings, of the revelation of God in history (in man): as the revelation of deity in nature was chiefly elaborated by the Greeks, so this was a conception elaborated chiefly by the Jews.<sup>1</sup> When Carlyle writes that "Matter, were it never so despicable is . . . the manifestation of Spirit," he may strike us as pursuing the thought of which Boehme was fond, namely, that reality is a *Gebärung*, and which Ruysbroek employed when he said that the physical world was the "natural kingdom of God."<sup>2</sup> In each conception all things are an exfoliation of divine energy which really remains unchanged behind its transient forms. This notion is as old, of course, as the doctrine of *Mâyâ*, with which Carlyle was indirectly familiar.<sup>3</sup> What gives it a mystical cast in Carlyle's treatment may be said to be his insistence on intuition rather than on dialectic as the power of interpreting the revelation.

Naturally following on this doctrine comes the mystic's consciousness of oneness, both of the "mystic, miraculous, unfathomable Union" between men in society, and of "an All-embracing Love, that encircles alike the seraph and the glow-worm," in a "Nature [that] is one, and a living indivisible whole."<sup>4</sup> Conceiving man as "a *Spirit*, and bound by invisible bonds to *All Men*," he saw him also as a part of cosmic unfolding of purpose. As such, man became for him essentially divine; "Man berührt den Himmel, wenn man einen Menschen-leib betastet," said Novalis in a fragment which Carlyle became fond

<sup>1</sup> Inge, pp. 44, 95, 324. The Johannine and Pauline writings are considered by Dean Inge as containing "all the principles of a sound and sober Christian Mysticism," the Fourth Gospel being regarded as indeed the "charter of Christian Mysticism." Carlyle, however, seems to have set John below Matthew (*Letters to Mill, Sterling, etc.*, p. 79). On the other hand, if Carlyle knew Fichte's *Anweisung zum seligen Leben*—which is highly probable—he must have observed that in the sixth lecture Fichte discusses "the Doctrine of the Johannine Gospel: Its Accordance with Our Own Doctrine." It was easy to do what Carlyle, in fact, did: reject Fichte's dialectique and interpret him in terms of religious intuition (*Germ. Lit.* [Cent. ed.], pp. 58–61, 81 ff.). Cf. also Dunbar, p. 18 n., for the distinction between the Greek and the Jewish conception of revelation.

<sup>2</sup> Boehme, *Die drei Principien göttlichen Wesens* (*Werke*, III, 27). Cf. Novalis' idea of *Offenbarung*, with which Carlyle was familiar (*Schriften* [Berlin, 1837], II, 141). See also Sartor, p. 52; J. Ruysbroek, *Kingdom of the Lovers of God*, trans. T. A. Hyde (London, 1919), p. 202.

<sup>3</sup> P. Deussen, *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, trans. A. S. Geden (Edinburgh, 1906), p. 226. Carlyle appears to have studied "the theologians of Hindostan" through the works of Sir William Jones (*Novalis* [People's ed.], p. 202).

<sup>4</sup> *Characteristics* (People's ed.), p. 10; *Voltaire*, p. 144; *Sartor* (Cent. ed.), p. 196. Cf. Inge, p. 94 (Plotinus on oneness); Boutroux, p. 191.

of quoting.<sup>1</sup> Like the great mystics, Carlyle insists on the "continuity of essence" through all grades of being and existence. The conception is at the heart of his pantheistically tinged attitude toward nature; it appears again in his social doctrine that what affects the poorest creature will ultimately affect the strongest; it provides the ground of both the worship and the hero in "hero-worship." The shadow of what Boehme called *das ewige Ein*<sup>2</sup> is behind everything that Carlyle ever wrote.

But perhaps even more central, in Carlyle's mystical ideas, than the doctrine of nature as revelation, or of silence as the path to—and an aspect of—the Godhead, or of the continuity of essence, is the exalted place given by all mystics, and by Carlyle, to the value of symbols. In fact, Carlyle's weightiest claim to be called, in certain unmistakable ways, a mystic, lies just here in his profound perception of the nature and value of symbolism. It has been common to consider the presence of symbols as a criterion of claim to the mystic vision. "In reality if mysticism is to be defined in terms other than those of personal experience, that spirit is called mystical which employs insight symbols. All devotional mystics have used them, and furthermore such symbols will account for that elusive flavor of mysticism in the writings of many not definitely numbered among the mystics."<sup>3</sup> Carlyle saw that "in the Symbol proper . . . there is . . . some embodiment and revelation of the Infinite; the Infinite is made to blend itself with the Finite, to stand visible . . .," although even at the most, "there is concealment [as well as] revelation," since the most perfect expression attainable is but a shadow of the reality. He realized that it is the essence of symbolism to suggest the inexpressible, just as it is the essence of mysticism to believe, as Carlyle did, that everything we see and know is symbolic of something greater.<sup>4</sup> Truly mystical, therefore, is his emphasis on man's work as revelatory of his nature and his destiny; for, as Novalis had said before him, "Der Mensch hat immer symbolische Philosophie seines Wesens in seinen

<sup>1</sup> Sartor, p. 47; Novalis, *Schriften*, II, 169 (quoted by Carlyle, *Novalis* [Cent. ed.], p. 39).

<sup>2</sup> *Theosopia*, p. 476. Cf. also Sartor, pp. 56-57, 196; *Heroes*, ed. MacMechan, p. 179; B. H. Lehman, *Carlyle's Theory of the Hero* (Durham, N.C., 1928), p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Dunbar, *Symbolism in Medieval Thought*, pp. 22-23.

<sup>4</sup> Sartor, p. 175; here Carlyle evidently echoes Schelling (*Methode des akademischen Studiums*, in *Werke* [Stuttgart, 1859], V, 293-94): "Wie nun die Handlung, welche die Einheit des Unendlichen und Endlichen äusserlich ausdrückt, symbolisch heissen kann . . ." etc.

Werken und in seinem Thun und Lassen ausgedrückt."<sup>1</sup> Mystical, also, is Carlyle's notion that "Language is . . . the Garment of Thought," and his question, "What is it all but Metaphors . . . ?" Not only is man's action an inarticulate attempt to express the inexpressible within and without him; his language, too, says Carlyle, fails to do more than partially express and partially conceal his thought—it succeeds only in *naming*. "The Name is the earliest Garment you wrap around the earth-visiting Me. . . . Not only all common Speech, but Science, Poetry itself, is no other, if thou consider it, than a right *Naming*."<sup>2</sup> Thus it may be said that we perhaps come nearest Carlyle's mystical side when we recognize his notion that language fulfils its function only when it is used symbolically—metaphorically—to suggest what cannot be expressed. It is inevitably involved in his attitude toward knowing; whatever can be known completely is, for the mystic, hardly worth knowing, for that reality which we can but dimly sense makes all analytical knowledge seem facile—"nothing that is wholly seen through," says Carlyle audaciously, "has other than a trivial character."<sup>3</sup> To Carlyle, therefore—as to the recognized mystics—all objects, all events, all words may be regarded as mysteriously double natured, interpretable with relation to themselves (which gives us science), and interpretable as symbols of an ultimate meaning, that is, with relation to what they manifest to "the desirous heart, the intuitive sense, of man."<sup>4</sup>

Still another point of affinity between Carlyle and the mystics can be found in his preoccupation with time and eternity. Long before he wrote of man as a "confluence of Time with Eternity," Eckhart had observed that "the Soul is created in a place between Time and Eternity," and that "with its highest powers it touches Eternity, with its lower Time." The same doctrine, though present in non-mystical writers, has found a peculiar emphasis in the great mystics, particularly in the Areopagite, in the author of the *Theologia Germanica*, in Ruysbroek, in Boehme.<sup>5</sup> The emphasis is perhaps as great in Carlyle.

<sup>1</sup> *Schriften*, II, 169.

<sup>2</sup> *Sartor*, pp. 57, 69. See chap. III ("Symbols") of Book III.

<sup>3</sup> *Characteristics* (Cent. ed.), p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Underhill, p. 151.

<sup>5</sup> *Sartor*, p. 178; Eckhart, *Predigen*, XXIII (Underhill, p. 77); Dionysius, *On the Divine Names*, etc., p. 172; *Theologia Germanica*, pp. 192-93; Ruysbroek, *Kingdom of the Lovers of God*, p. 175; Boehme, *Sez puncta theosophica* (Werke, VI), p. 359; *Sez puncta mystica*, p. 401.

Longing for release from "the wild death-element of Time," the "troublous dim Time-element," he was fond of the conception of an Eternal Now in an Eternal Here, finding his "full delight in all that approximates most nearly to Simultaneity," which, von Hügel says, is deeply characteristic of the mystical temperament.<sup>1</sup> As a "Son of Time" he looked for the "immanence of the temporal in the eternal, and the eternal in the temporal."<sup>2</sup> To arrive at this point of view he was aided, as critics have pointed out, by Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* and its demonstration of the purely subjective nature of time. The phraseology, however, is frequently that of Richter, as may be seen by comparing his references with those of Richter in *Flower, Fruit and Thorn Pieces*, in *Hesperus*, and in *Levana*.<sup>3</sup> Related to this conception of time are his ideas of man dwelling "between a hemisphere of light and another of darkness" (time and eternity), of time reposing on eternity, and vice versa, and of man containing elements of both. These ideas suggest Boehme.<sup>4</sup> But though they have made frequent appearances in mystical and non-mystical thought for centuries, they seem to have reached Carlyle through Schelling, who, as we have seen, was heavily indebted to Boehme for some of his doctrines. As provocative ideas, they were frequently treated by the German Romantics, who reached at times a <sup>sort of</sup> short of panentheism whereby the *Höchste* was also the *Nächste*,<sup>5</sup> and God was at once, as he was for Carlyle, both immanent and transcendent. It is easy to regard Carlyle as influenced by these notions, at least as confirmed by them in his native disposition. Certainly his hunger for "simultaneity"—for an eternal Here and Now—was in itself, and as far as it went, truly mystical.

<sup>1</sup> *Death of Goethe* (People's ed.), p. 50; *Sartor* (Centenary ed.), p. 103-4 (in *Sartor* alone there are some twenty-nine references to time and eternity); von Hügel, II, 285. Hensel (p. 67) suggests that Carlyle may have found the phrasing for the eternal Here and Now in Schelling—an echo of *das Ht und Nâ* of Eckhart.

<sup>2</sup> Carlyle probably found the phrase "Son of Time" in Goethe's *Gott, Gemûth und Welt*. Cf. Inge, p. 5, for the "immanence of the temporal in the eternal. . . ."

<sup>3</sup> *Flower, Fruit and Thorn Pieces*, chap. viii; *Hesperus*, Thirty-eighth Dog-Post Day; *Levana* (2d frag.), chaps. i-iv. See Carlyle's translation from Richter (in *Richter*, 1830) for imaginatively mystical phrases: "the void Immensity," "this wide grave of the All," "Eternity lay upon Chaos," "the dial-plate of Eternity," "Being cast its shadow," "the Abyss." The source of much "Carlylean" phraseology is evident.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Carlyle, *Goethe's Works* (Cent. ed.), p. 405; *Characteristics*, p. 38; and *Sartor*, p. 91, with Boehme's passages: *Sex puncta theosophica*, p. 359; *Signatura*, pp. 315, 426.

<sup>5</sup> See Joachimi, p. 50; Höffding, *History of Philosophy*, trans. B. E. Meyer (London, 1924), II, 148, 190, 204, etc.

## III

It would be possible to pursue the affinities between Carlyle and some of the mystics to a much finer degree than we have permitted ourselves here. Further comparison, however, would probably ally him with Goethe and the transcendentalists more often than with the great mystics. Thus his doctrine of *Selbsttödtung*, which he borrowed from Novalis, is but an intensification of Goethe's *Entsagen* and a variation of Christian self-denial.<sup>1</sup> Though our knowledge of Carlyle's mysticism is clarified and strengthened by finding many of his doctrines enunciated by Dionysius, Boehme, Ruysbroek, or Eckhart, we remember that they were easily available, in one form or another, through his early Christian discipline and his study of German writers. This may be said of his "Worship of Sorrow," which receives emphasis from Tauler, who makes it the way to union with God, and from Eckhart, who regards it as the mother of all the virtues, but which Carlyle borrowed from Goethe.<sup>2</sup> The same may be said of his idea of the *microcosm* and the *macrocosm*—that each finite object is a "reflex of the All"—a doctrine common, again, to numerous mystics on the one hand, and to the unmystical Goethe on the other.<sup>3</sup> Carlyle's doctrine of work, as we have noted earlier, may be regarded as mystical only in so far as action may symbolize the effort of the inward to become outward, the attempt, as in language, to express the inexpressible.<sup>4</sup> But even though some mystics—notably Tauler—exalt work as part of the mystic way, Carlyle's conception of it has a limited and practical aspect.<sup>5</sup>

It is perhaps sufficient that we have seen the several ways in which he at times approximates the mystic's point of view, namely, through

<sup>1</sup> Novalis, *Schriften*, II, 115; Sartor, p. 149. Most critics of Carlyle (Baumgarten [p. 45], Carré [p. 178], etc.) have noted that there was little in either *Selbsttödtung* or *Entsagen* which could have meant abstemiousness, but which, for Carlyle, they more or less became. Certainly there was nothing inherently mystical in them, as he interpreted them.

<sup>2</sup> Sartor, p. 151; Underhill, p. 268; Josiah Royce, "Meister Eckhart," *Studies of Good and Evil* (New York, 1898), p. 286; *Wilhelm Meister's Travels*, chap. xi.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Carlyle, *Diderot*, p. 181, and Goethe, *Faust*, Part I, scene iii: "... Man, that microcosmic fool . . ." (Joachim, pp. 14, 21 n.).

<sup>4</sup> Miss Spurgeon (p. 109) regards this doctrine as central in Carlyle's mysticism. Cf., however, Miss Storr's belief (p. 95) that, for Carlyle, work is too often "an actual job," rather than a really mystical "way."

<sup>5</sup> Inge, p. 11 n.; Underhill, p. 99. Cf. Goethe, *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*, Book VIII, chap. v, for an example of work as "unfolding one's gifts," which Carlyle made a gospel.

his rejection of the understanding as a means of comprehending ultimate truth, in favor of an immediate and intuitive access; his belief in a Godlike ingredient in man, providing a point of common ground between the soul and its Source; his conception of God as nameless and ineffable, his fondness for the imagery of the abyss; his love of silence as both a means of knowing and as a characteristic of deity; his doctrine of nature and man as revelation of a divine force which is both a being and a becoming, both immanent and transcendent; his conviction of the essential oneness of all things; his emphasis on symbols, under the forms of objects, events, language; and his interest in the relation between time and eternity—his longing for an Eternal Here and Now. In no respect, it is true, does he approximate any one mystic's outlook. Nor can it be said that the beliefs just enumerated constitute the mystical point of view as such. Yet since they have always contributed, in greater or less degree, to the great mystical tradition, and appear in the very German writers whom Carlyle studied and who acknowledged a debt to Eckhart, Boehme, and the neo-Platonists, they point to an element in his teachings that cannot easily be accounted for by simply turning to Goethe, Jean Paul, and the transcendentalists. They have a degree of character and independence of their own. It is more profitable to say that, along with the survival in Carlyle of what Froude called "Calvinism without the theology," there entered into his early thinking a number of conceptions common to both the German Romantics, whom he was studying, and the great mystics who influenced some of their thought. Carlyle, with his temperamental inability to systematize or think through a number of variously related doctrines, made no effort either to isolate, to define, or to acknowledge the several strongly mystical conceptions which he found congenial to his nature. They remained imbedded in some of the transcendental doctrines which he rather uncritically admired and expounded. Thus, to think of Carlyle as a mystic is possible only by lifting out of the curious mosaic of his beliefs those elements we have examined, and by ignoring his deeplying stoicism and Hebraism. They entitle him, at the most, to be ranked as a mystical thinker, in whom many peculiarly and often contradictorily combined ideas, from many sources, acquire at times an undoubtedly mystical tone.

Our inquiry has at least disposed of Camille Bos's suggestion that Carlyle belongs among such thoroughgoing mystics as Meister Eckhart. We have seen reasons also for believing that Carlyle was not, as Masson maintains, a "fervid theist" in any consistent or exclusive sense. More truth certainly lies somewhere between Dean Inge's opinion than he was wanting in some of the essential features of mysticism and von Hügel's belief that Carlyle without some measure of mysticism would not be Carlyle. It appears true, then, that Carlyle had in him, as J. M. Robertson held, only "a certain vein of elementary mysticism," since, as we have seen, he was far from ever embarking on "the mystic way," with its radical abandonment of self, its requirement of an overwhelming sense of the unreality of tangible things—a sense quite incompatible with Carlyle's admiration for "fact." Robertson's reference to Carlyle's mysticism as "one of the borrowed fashions of his youth" is likewise true, inasmuch as the elementary fragments of mysticism, though persisting with Carlyle to the end, did not prevent him in later years from turning his back on that "Kantian haze-world" from which he had absorbed so much that had turned mystical under his hands.

Mysticism has been said to be the effect of a revulsion away from dogma, or from an excess of rationalism, or from a period of skepticism.<sup>1</sup> Carlyle experienced all three of these stages in varying degrees. He began early to disbelieve in the orthodox Christianity of Ecclefechan; later he surfeited himself, in Edward Irving's library, upon Hume and the French rationalist philosophy; and still later he passed through a period of grueling doubt which ended only at Hoddam Hill in 1826.<sup>2</sup> Though Goethe and the transcendentalists restored value and stability to his world, Goethe was too little religious and too Olympian, while the transcendentalists were too much given to intellectualizing. The failure of Carlyle ever to reach an adjustment between what he wanted to believe—essential Christianity, without dogma and miracle—and a satisfactory intellectual statement of his ideal led to a fundamental disharmony in his life and writings. It is this disharmony which renders any examination of his mysticism—or of any of his philosophy—as difficult as it is alluring. But the fact of

<sup>1</sup> Inge, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> D. A. Wilson, *Carlyle till Marriage* (London, 1923), Book II, chap. iv: "A Student's Awakening"; Carlyle, *Reminiscences*, ed. J. A. Froude, II, 92 ff.

the disharmony (and its essential nature) is at least made clearer by studying his mysticism, and by observing that in adopting and transforming the ideas of Goethe and the transcendentalists he betrayed an unmistakably mystical tendency. That tendency is there seen as a part of his powerfully affirmative genius, which felt impelled to exalt the will rather than the rational faculties. Unable to accept Goethe's pantheistic God or the idealist's Absolute, he showed in his mystical approach to the notion of God that the religious man—and much more the mystic—desires and ultimately affirms a God, who, though he may at times resemble the Absolute, can nevertheless be approached directly, mysteriously, silently, and with a certainty that, unlike the Absolute, he will always be on the side of the angels. Thus the elements which we have designated as "mystical" in Carlyle's thought throw interesting light not only on the reasons for his particular choices among German ideas, but also on his strangely composite and inwardly conflicting philosophy as the best which he could achieve. That he was, therefore, in certain very definite ways a mystic can no longer be doubted; his mysticism shines like a golden gleam through the darker texture of his Calvinism.

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## CRITICAL SURVEYS OF RECENT SCHOLARSHIP

### TRAVAUX RECENTS SUR LE PARNASSE

La poésie parnassienne, depuis le début de notre siècle, avait perdu la faveur du public. Baudelaire, Rimbaud, et Mallarmé semblaient, naguère encore, les seuls poètes susceptibles d'émouvoir nos contemporains; la critique universitaire, de son côté, s'aventurait rarement au-delà de la période romantique. Allons-nous, après trente années d'oubli, assister à une mode nouvelle du Parnasse? La chose ne serait point surprenante. Plus d'un enthousiaste de Paul Valéry aujourd'hui se montre parnassien sans le savoir, lorsqu'il écoute ce poète hermétique, cet aristocrate, ce savant, cet "hellène," célébrer en art la difficulté vaincue, la grandeur de la contrainte, et s'écrier: "J'aimerais mieux écrire en toute conscience et dans une entière lucidité quelque chose de faible, que d'enfanter à la faveur d'une transe et hors de moi-même un chef-d'œuvre d'entre les plus beaux."<sup>1</sup> Voici qu'en l'espace de quelques mois cinq ouvrages, coup sur coup, s'efforcent de ramener l'attention sur ce mouvement poétique du milieu du dix-neuvième siècle.

Il est difficile de ne pas être déçu par le *Parnassus in France* de M. Aaron Schaffer.<sup>2</sup> Quelques articles récents, fort bien documentés, du même auteur,<sup>3</sup> nous avaient fait espérer de lui un livre plus solide; notre impatience était d'autant plus vive que l'érudition américaine se porte plus rarement vers la poésie française, et la sacrifie volontiers au roman et au théâtre. En fait, le livre de M. Schaffer est une histoire, très vaste—donc nécessairement rapide—de la poésie française, de ses origines à l'époque contemporaine. Qu'une telle histoire soit fort incomplète, nul ne s'en étonnera, et il y aurait mauvaise grâce à le reprocher à M. Schaffer qui déclare modestement: "The work is frankly introductory in character . . . and makes no claim to exhaustiveness." Mais on se demande alors quelle était la nécessité d'une telle étude.

Les Parnassiens sont bien d'ailleurs les poètes favoris de M. Schaffer, et il leur consacre la plus grande partie de son livre, ce qui n'est pas sans fausser considérablement la perspective de son tableau de la poésie française. Le chapitre IV de son ouvrage est le seul qui repose sur une base vraiment solide; encore y chercherait-on en vain du nouveau. L'auteur accorde une attention particulière à Leconte de Lisle et à ses disciples, à Banville, à Baudelaire; il ne résout pas cependant, et ne pose pas clairement, la question fort complexe des rapports de Baudelaire avec ce groupe du Parnasse. Son dernier chapitre sur

<sup>1</sup> P. Valéry, "Lettre sur Mallarmé," *Revue de Paris*, 1 avril 1927, p. 488.

<sup>2</sup> A. Schaffer, *Parnassus in France* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1930. Pp. x + 291).

<sup>3</sup> *MLN*, XLI (1926), 164-68; et *Romanic Review*, XXI (1930), 49-59.

les symbolistes est vague et hâtif. La bibliographie de M. Schaffer n'inspire pas une confiance absolue dans la validité de ses jugements, et elle est trop incomplète pour pouvoir rendre de réels services; des livres tels que ceux de Lepelletier sur Verlaine, de Calmettes sur Leconte de Lisle, de Paternie Berrichon sur Rimbaud, ne doivent être consultés qu'avec précaution; et le lecteur quelque peu averti ne peut s'empêcher de sursauter en lisant telle phrase sur "the cacophonous notes of *Les Fleurs du Mal*" (p. 165), en voyant M. Schaffer accorder mesquinement trois courtes pages à Rimbaud, mais sept pages à Eugène Manuel, en apprenant que Paul Valéry est né en 1862 (au lieu de 1872), etc.

MM. Flottes et Desonay ont plus modestement délimité leur sujet. Le livre de M. Flottes<sup>1</sup> ne vaut pas tant par les "documents inédits" qu'annonce son titre (lesquels se réduisent en fait à peu de chose) que par l'agrément et l'intelligence avec lesquels il raconte une histoire déjà connue. Il évoque devant nous la carrière de Leconte de Lisle, dans une biographie d'autant plus vivante qu'elle n'est point romancée. Il se sert très ingénieusement de la vie pour expliquer l'œuvre; sa connaissance approfondie du milieu social et politique lui permet plus d'une fois d'apporter sur le sens de tel ou tel vers des précisions curieuses. M. Flottes ne peut qu'effleurer certaines des questions qui restent encore à résoudre sur Leconte de Lisle (l'hellénisme du poète, par exemple, et son travail de traducteur, son esthétique, son influence, etc.); mais il le fait avec une délicatesse pénétrante et un art consommé.

M. Desonay se montre au contraire bien dur, presque brutal, pour l'auteur des *Poèmes antiques et barbares*.<sup>2</sup> Il s'est donné pour tâche d'examiner ce qu'était ce retour à l'hellénisme que l'on associe volontiers avec le mouvement poétique français de 1850 à 1880. En Leconte de Lisle et Hérédia, il ne trouve que des enfants des Tropiques, amoureux de couleur et de lumière, dont la sois-disant érudition était toute d'emprunt, à qui le rêve grec n'a fourni qu'un décor extérieur. Il réserve sa sympathie pour Louis Ménard et A. France, qui ont, à son avis, possédé la plus fine intelligence et le sentiment le plus vrai du génie hellénique.

La thèse de M. Desonay est bien absolue. On s'étonnera sans doute de ces éloges décernés à A. France—non point parce qu'il est de mode de dénigrer actuellement ce grand écrivain; M. Desonay a certes le droit de n'être pas à la mode—mais parce que France est à bien des égards plus alexandrin qu'athénien; une étude fouillée de ses sources antiques serait d'ailleurs à entreprendre, et M. Desonay ne l'a pas tentée. Sur L. Ménard, l'auteur écrit un chapitre sympathique, mais dont la documentation est surtout de seconde main. On pourrait y relever plusieurs inexactitudes, et des affirmations que nulle preuve ne vient étayer. M. Desonay voudrait soutenir que Leconte de Lisle, dans son

<sup>1</sup> P. Flottes, *Le poète Leconte de Lisle, documents inédits* (Paris: Perrin, 1929. Pp. xli + 272).

<sup>2</sup> F. Desonay, *Le rêve hellénique chez les poètes parnassiens*, "Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature comparée" (Paris: Champion, 1929. Pp. 429).

hellénisme, n'est qu'un "perroquet" qui "répète la leçon péniblement apprise" (p. 108). Il faudrait le démontrer. La tâche, il est vrai, est malaisée; mais M. Desonay ne se donne pas la peine d'examiner les préfaces de Leconte de Lisle, ses traductions d'Homère, d'Hésiode, des tragiques grecs. La fragilité de son ouvrage tient évidemment à l'emploi de ce terme si dangereux d'"hellénisme," qui veut dire tant de choses, et que M. Desonay ne définit nulle part avec la précision désirable. L'auteur s'est du moins livré à de longues et diligentes recherches, comme en témoigne sa bibliographie<sup>1</sup> et, malgré des erreurs et des répétitions, il se fait lire avec un intérêt qui ne faiblit pas. Son style est alerte et s'anime souvent d'une flamme juvénile.

M. André Thérive, le nouveau critique littéraire du *Temps*, est un admirateur convaincu du Parnasse, et sa brillante dialectique fait partager son admiration.<sup>2</sup> En 140 pages, il s'applique à réhabiliter l'esthétique parnassienne, non sans décocher quelques traits acérés aux esthétiques postérieures, notamment aux symbolistes et aux surréalistes actuels. On ne cherchera pas dans le livre de M. Thérive un exposé historique complet et précis du mouvement parnassien; mais on y trouvera une grande richesse d'aperçus intelligents, et souvent féconds. M. Thérive insiste notamment sur la sincérité du pessimisme parnassien, sur la "pureté" (déjà !) de leur poésie, puisque la poésie est, pour eux, un jeu difficile, dépourvu de toute utilité pratique, intellectuelle ou sentimentale; enfin, sur la réussite remarquable de certains d'entre eux. Le tendre et grave Sully-Prudhomme, dont la gloire mondiale fut jadis consacrée par le jury du prix Nobel, lui apparaît, ainsi qu'à beaucoup d'entre nous, comme un pauvre poète; mais il réhabilite, avec raison, A. Silvestre, Jean Lahor surtout (qui mériterait bien de tenter l'un de nos candidats au doctorat), et salue dans Leconte de Lisle le "Lucrèce français." La deuxième partie de son ouvrage est consacrée à une anthologie des Parnassiens, et même de quelques Parnassiens avant la lettre, Chénier, Sainte-Beuve, ... Il y a là à bien des belles pages, que nous sommes reconnaissants à M. Thérive de nous faire relire.

L'infatigable M. Souriau vient de donner une suite à sa volumineuse *Histoire du Romantisme*; son *Histoire du Parnasse* est appelée à rendre de précieux services.<sup>3</sup> En plus de 500 pages, l'auteur a fait une large synthèse de tous les documents et travaux sur le sujet: il a étudié le milieu où ont vécu ces poètes, leurs salons et leurs cafés, leur esthétique, et enfin leurs œuvres, avec minutie et presque toujours avec sympathie. Son ouvrage est solide, bourré

<sup>1</sup> Là encore cependant M. Desonay met plus de fantaisie que de rigoureuse précision. Dans la seule première page de sa bibliographie, nous relevons huit erreurs, sans compter les omissions: M. Desonay fait paraître chez Dentu trois ouvrages de Ménard parus chez Delagrave, et un quatrième paru chez Didier; il fait publier par Charpentier trois livres qui n'ont jamais vu le jour chez cet éditeur; et il écrit obstinément *De sacra poesia* au lieu de *poesi*; c'est un détail; mais cet indice, joint à quelques autres éveillé des doutes chez un lecteur soupçonneux: pour étudier l'hellénisme de poètes, malgré tout, érudits, et d'un mythographe tel que Ménard, ne faudrait-il pas être quelque peu helléniste soi-même?

<sup>2</sup> A. Thérive, *Le Parnasse* (Paris: Les Oeuvres représentatives, 1929. Pp. 330).

<sup>3</sup> M. Souriau, *Histoire du Parnasse* (Paris: Editions Spes, 1929. Pp. liv + 466).

de citations et de références, et bien composé. La place centrale, comme de juste, est réservée à Leconte de Lisle, précédé de Louis Ménard, suivi de L. Dierx et de Hérédia. C'est en Leconte de Lisle, en effet, que M. Souriau voit le vrai, presque le seul, parnassien. Il dépense force subtilité pour nous convaincre de sa thèse: que Leconte de Lisle s'oppose à V. Hugo; or, V. Hugo, c'est le romantisme; et Leconte de Lisle, c'est-à-dire le Parnasse, s'oppose au romantisme. Aussi "Banville n'est pas parnassien, parce qu'il est romantique" (p. 60). Il est permis de ne pas suivre l'auteur dans ces jongleries avec des entités poétiques. Le Parnasse en effet s'oppose au romantisme, mais il le continue aussi, comme faisait le réalisme. L'exotisme parnassien, leur goût pour l'Orient, les Tropiques, et même pour la Grèce, ne remonte-t-il pas aux *Orientales*, et à Chateaubriand? Leur pessimisme ne continue-t-il pas, avec plus de discrétion et de réserve, le mal du siècle de leurs prédécesseurs? Notre historien du Parnasse n'est pas lui-même un impassible; il a ses préférences, et il ne les dissimule pas. Nous ne l'accuserons pas de mauvais goût ou d'esprit faux, ce qui serait impliquer présomptueusement que notre esprit ou notre goût est meilleur ou plus juste; mais nous avouerons que M. Souriau nous paraît trop dur envers A. France, envers Villiers de l'Isle Adam, et même envers Baudelaire, dont la vraie grandeur lui échappe; par contre, il ne ménage pas assez l'hyperbole dans ses chapitres sur Hérédia (dont l'étoile, à notre avis, est désormais destinée à pâlir) au poète universitaire F. Plessis (à qui l'unissent des liens d'amitié), et, fort curieusement, à Déroulède, que l'on s'attendait peu à voir naviguer dans la galère parnassienne. *Les Chants du Soldat*, d'après M. Souriau, qui n'est pas loin de les égaler à Homère (p. 335), ont "comblé la lacune du Parnasse" (p. 338).

Il y aurait bien d'autres jugements contestables à signaler dans ce gros livre, et même bien des références et des fautes d'impression à corriger. L'ouvrage n'en reste pas moins le meilleur que nous possédions sur le mouvement parnassien. Cette *Histoire du Parnasse* n'est ni absolument complète, ni définitive; mais elle constitue un excellent instrument de travail, susceptible d'orienter les curieux et les chercheurs vers d'autres études de détail. Nous regrettons seulement, comme malheureusement dans trop d'ouvrages français encore, l'absence d'un index, qui aurait grandement facilité le maniement d'un livre volumineux et touffu.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Signalons encore: P. 33: "Baudelaire fait en 1842 la connaissance de Leconte de Lisle"; or Leconte de Lisle ne vint à Paris, au plus tôt, que fin 1845, et ne rencontra pas Baudelaire avant cette date.—P. 39, n. 1: référence inexacte, devrait être J. Charpentier, "La réaction parnassienne ..." *Mercur de France*, 15 mars 1925.—P. 118: les "samedis" de Madame de Ricard étaient en fait des "vendredis".—P. 57, n. 3: lire *Revue de France*, p. 181 au lieu de 781.—P. 174: "ce sont les deux premières pages de la *Légende de Saint-Hilarion* qui ont inspiré à Leconte de Lisle son *Hypatie*"; M. Souriau oublie qu'*Hypatie* a paru, sous sa première forme, dans la *Phalange* en juillet 1847, tandis que la *Légende de Saint-Hilarion* a été écrite plus de vingt ans après et n'a paru dans la *Critique philosophique* qu'en 1875.—P. 196, n. 1: "Latreille, les dernières années de Leconte de Lisle" devrait être "... de Lamartine."—Enfin, quelques Américains souriront en lisant, p. 456: "Aux Etats-Unis, on le considère [i.e. Leconte de Lisle] comme le plus parfait poète que la France, que le monde entier, aient connu."

On voit assez que ces récentes études sur le Parnasse laissent encore dans l'obscurité bien des aspects intéressants de ce mouvement littéraire. Parmi les *poetae minores* de l'époque, qui mériteraient une étude détaillée, tant pour la valeur propre de leur œuvre que pour le côté représentatif de leur personnalité et de leurs théories, il faut mentionner, après Jean Lahor, le poète et critique d'art Louis de Ronchaud; un philosophe qui eut des parties de grand poète, André Lefèvre; le mystique Thalès Bernard; et le plus matériel et plus gaulois Armand Silvestre.

Un érudit français, M. Carcassonne, s'attache en ce moment même à élucider les multiples difficultés que soulève l'indianisme de Leconte de Lisle. Nous avons nous-même effectué quelques recherches sur l'hellénisme de la génération parnassienne. Il resterait à examiner de près, avec de la minutie, mais aussi avec quelque largeur philosophique, le vaste problème du pessimisme des Parnassiens. L'enquête récente de M. A. Baillot<sup>1</sup> est à cet égard fort insuffisante. Le classicisme des Parnassiens fournirait aussi la matière d'une étude féconde: on parle communément de "retour au classicisme" à propos de la génération de 1850-70. Nous croyons au contraire qu'un sondage attentif dans la littérature de l'époque révélerait alors une persistance obstinée du romantisme, et la pénétration inattendue de notions romantiques dans l'université française. Au contraire des Nisard, des Patin, des Saint-Marc Girardin de la génération précédente, les critiques de 1850-70 attaquent sans réserve le siècle de Louis XIV et ses grands écrivains: Renan, E. Havet, Bersot, Alph. Peyrat, Michelet, s'en prennent à Pascal, à Bossuet. Taine, qui goûte La Fontaine et Saint-Simon, deux indépendants, traite sans ménagement Racine et Boileau. Sainte-Beuve lui-même, son *Port-Royal* enfin achevé, se tourne avec plus de sympathie vers ces audaces anti-cléricales et anti-monarchiques de la jeune université. Le Parnasse a vécu dans cette atmosphère, et tels représentants de cette école prétendue néo-classique, Th. Gautier, L. Ménard, ou Leconte de Lisle, ont été peu indulgents pour leurs prédécesseurs du grand siècle. Signalons enfin que nous ne possédons pas encore de bonne étude d'ensemble sur la versification et la métrique des poètes parnassiens, ou sur les relations de ces poètes sculpturaux avec les artistes de leur temps, et particulièrement avec les sculpteurs.

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<sup>1</sup> *L'influence de la philosophie de Schopenhauer en France* (Paris: Vrin, 1927).

L'ETAT DES TRAVAUX SUR EDGAR ALLAN POE  
EN FRANCE

Edgar Allan Poe est l'un de ces auteurs sur lesquels la critique se passionne périodiquement. Vivement discutés ou admirés, ils tombent tout à coup dans l'oubli. Vingt ans après, la mode change et on les étudie avec un nouvel enthousiasme. Depuis 1923, dans les pays de langue française, on n'a pas publié moins de sept ouvrages sur Poe, sans compter une poussière d'articles et de conférences.

Il semble que l'on soit arrivé, à l'heure actuelle, à une mise au point à peu près complète de ces questions extrêmement délicates: les influences subies par Poe, celles qu'il a exercées, le degré de connaissance de son œuvre que l'on a eu en France à différentes époques.

Ces sujets sont d'une importance capitale pour la compréhension de l'œuvre de l'auteur. En particulier, un détail était toujours resté obscur. Poe était fort érudit, moins qu'il ne l'a dit, sans doute, mais, malgré tout, sa culture était profonde. Cet écrivain si original a-t-il subi des influences étrangères? On a voulu trouver dans ses œuvres les imitations de quelques ouvrages allemands, mais les arguments ne sont pas toujours absolument probants. Récemment, on a publié un livre sur l'une des questions les plus importantes que soulève cet aspect du génie de l'écrivain: *Les Influences françaises dans l'œuvre d'Edgar Poe*, par Régis Messac<sup>1</sup>. Poe n'avait qu'une connaissance assez imparfaite du français, mais on retrouve cependant dans "Arthur Gordon Pym" et dans le "Manuscript Found in a Bottle" la trace de quelques romans de voyages du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, *L'An 2440* de Sébastien Mercier et la *Relation d'un voyage du pôle arctique au pôle antarctique*, ouvrage anonyme de 1723. Poe avait également lu le livre de Cyrano de Bergerac.

Les emprunts de Poe à la littérature française contemporaine sont plus difficiles à déterminer. "Ligeia," "William Wilson," "The Cask of Amontillado" doivent certainement beaucoup à *Séraphita*, à *Louis Lambert*, et à *La Grande Bretèche*. Or, Poe ne cite jamais Balzac: voulait-il cacher ses traces? M. Messac, avec une infatigable patience, a relevé quelques passages qui prouvent indiscutablement l'imitation. Evidemment, il est impossible d'identifier tous les emprunts. Par exemple, "Hop-Frog" vient, directement ou non, de l'épisode du Ballet des Ardents raconté dans les *Chroniques* de Froissart. Je crois avoir personnellement trouvé une autre source française de ce conte: les caractères de Hop-Frog et de Tripetta ne seraient-ils pas des transpositions des héros de *Notre-Dame de Paris*? Poe connaissait et admirait vivement le roman de Victor Hugo. Ne s'est-il pas inspiré des figures de Quasimodo et de Esméralda? On sait aussi que tous les keepsakes, français ou anglais, renfermaient une forte proportion d'histoires sinistres et sentimentales, dans la tradition du roman noir. Le *Keepsake français pour 1839*, en particulier, contient une nouvelle qui semble bien être la source du "Premature Burial":

<sup>1</sup> Paris, 1929.

<sup>2</sup> *Notre-Dame de Paris*, comme on le sait, a été publié en 1831, d'x-huit ans avant "Hop-Frog."

c'est *Como*, de "Lord Wigmore," un pseudonyme, probablement.<sup>1</sup> Cette référence a échappé à M. Messac; je ne l'ai même trouvée que par le plus grand des hasards. Elle n'est certes pas isolée, mais il serait vain de poursuivre ce genre de recherches.<sup>2</sup> Ce n'est pas une poussière de sources qu'il importe de relever: c'est l'usage qu'en a fait Poe, et la façon dont il les a interprétées—et c'est sur ces aspects de la question que M. Messac a beaucoup insisté:

Que Poe ait reçu de l'esprit français, au moins en partie, ce goût du choix et de la mesure, c'est ce que nous nous sommes efforcés de démontrer; ce qui ne nous paraît pas douteux, c'est que c'est surtout aux qualités de cet ordre qu'il a dû le succès presque illimité qu'il a obtenu en France.

De tels sujets se prêtent à d'éternelles retouches. Poe, qui a subi profondément l'influence de la littérature française, lui a rendu largement ce qu'il avait reçu. Peu d'écrivains, depuis Jean-Jacques Rousseau, ont autant ajouté au patrimoine littéraire du monde entier; peu d'entre eux ont apporté autant d'idées neuves, fécondes, impérieuses, dans lesquelles l'art moderne a trouvé comme un évangile.

Cette influence est le point sur lequel se concentrent les études consacrées à Poe dans les pays de langue française. Il vient d'en paraître cinq en six ans. On commence à voir clair dans une de ces questions toujours confuses et, dans l'espèce, tout particulièrement embrouillée.

Le problème est double. On peut en étudier tout d'abord le côté le plus superficiel, les traductions et l'attitude de la critique; ensuite l'aspect plus complexe, l'influence proprement dite.

M. Léon Lemonnier a publié *Les Traducteurs d'Edgar Poe en France de 1845 à 1875: Charles Baudelaire*.<sup>3</sup> Jusqu'alors, les critiques s'étaient débattus au milieu de références fausses et d'ouvrages fantômes. Il semble que la question soit définitivement classée. Ces traductions ont passé par deux phases. La première commence en 1845, date à laquelle la *Revue britannique* publie la traduction de "Murders in the Rue Morgue," et dure neuf années. L'œuvre de Poe passe par tous les avatars possibles: elle est découverte par des gens qui la comprennent mal; les contes sont démarqués, pillés de journal à journal; on échange des injures et, pour finir, un procès de presse tente de rendre à César ce qui appartient à César—moins les droits d'auteur, dont Poe n'entendit jamais parler. Les traducteurs ne savent pas très bien l'anglais: ils ignorent l'ensemble de l'œuvre de l'auteur américain et ne comprennent pas le ton spécial des contes: le résultat est une suite sans fin de contre-sens de mots et d'idées.

En 1854 paraît le premier volume des *Histoires extraordinaires*, traduites par Baudelaire, et alors tout change. C'est là une des plus belles traductions qui soient: elle réalise ce tour de force de rendre à la fois la lettre et l'esprit du

<sup>1</sup> "The Premature Burial" est de 1844.

<sup>2</sup> On a récemment trouvé la source de "The Pit and the Pendulum"; ce serait la chapitres xvi d'un roman de Brockden Brown, *Edgar Huntley*. Cf. D. L. Clark, "Sources of Poe's Pit and the Pendulum," dans *MLN*, juin 1929. Les preuves sont concluantes.

<sup>3</sup> Paris, 1928.

texte. L'auteur n'arriva à cette perfection qu'après de nombreuses retouches, et quelques erreurs subsistent encore, mais elles sont si rares qu'elles se perdent dans le respect minutieux du ton et de l'ambiance.

L'ouvrage de M. Lemonnier s'arrête à Baudelaire. Or, celui-ci n'a pas traduit toute l'œuvre de Poe. En particulier, il a reculé devant les poèmes. Mallarmé a voulu combler cette lacune, mais c'était une tâche d'une difficulté presque insurmontable. Comment traduire des vers qui sont une véritable musique—et dont quelques-uns ne sont que cela? *The Bells*, en particulier, échappent à toute tentative.

M. Lemonnier a également étudié un autre aspect de la renommée de Poe en France: *Edgar Poe et la critique française de 1845 à 1875*.<sup>1</sup> Vers 1845, Poe a été peu à peu admis dans la littérature française à la faveur de certaines théories à la mode. L'illuminisme du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle trouvait un écho dans le mystérieux magnétisme de ses contes. Tout ce surnaturel retouché d'une vague teinte scientifique correspondait admirablement aux espoirs et aux recherches du moment. D'autre part, les souvenirs romantiques, qui ne s'éteignaient que lentement, trouvaient dans la vie navrante et mal connue du poète américain un écho modernisé de *Chatterton*. Et l'œuvre tenait toutes les promesses de romantisme exalté que faisait la vie. Les intrigues effroyables paraissaient rester dans la tradition vénérée du roman noir et satanique qui, depuis cinquante ans, faisait dresser les cheveux suivant de savantes règles.

En dehors de ces thèmes sinistres mais familiers, la critique trouvait quelques aspects neufs dans l'œuvre de Poe. Son esprit mathématique, la précision limpide des contes policiers, ne pouvait manquer d'impressionner les lecteurs. Cette netteté géométrique se retrouvait dans les épisodes les plus mystiques, les plus purement poétiques, dans "Ligeia," par exemple. Et l'œuvre entière avait un autre mérite, très grand: elle était correcte et pouvait être mise entre toutes les mains.

Seulement, aux environs de 1856, la critique fit une brusque volte-face, et les attaques succédèrent aux louanges. Par-dessus tout, on se mit à reprocher à Poe son matérialisme. Il avait matérialisé l'art par l'abus de ses procédés, répétés à satiété. On blâmait amèrement son absence d'idéalisme religieux, athéisme voilé par une hypocrisie savante. En un mot, on lui faisait grief d'être trop Américain, par un art presque commercial et un piétisme dépourvu de croyances sincères.

Une attaque dirigée contre Poe doit fatalement porter sur ce que, d'un mot à tout faire, on a appelé son "réalisme." Toute la critique se mit à s'indigner pieusement à la lecture de certains passages que, quelques années auparavant, elle se contentait de traiter poliment de "sataniques." Sécheresse, manque d'âme et de sympathie humaine, tels sont les termes qui se retrouvent sous toutes les plumes. On en est là en 1875.

L'ouvrage de M. Lemonnier, très clair dans son ensemble, encourt un reproche: il manque d'échelle. Une trentaine de pages de Barbey d'Aurevilly

<sup>1</sup> Paris, 1928.

sont citées soixante-trois fois. Cette minutie fausse l'aspect de la question. Au fond, Poe n'a même pas été un auteur à scandales. Pour le grand public, son nom n'évoquait pas grand' chose. En 1865, à une époque où M. Lemonnier veut voir une réaction violente contre les idées et les œuvres de l'écrivain américain, l'*Univers illustré*, à court de copie, publie le "Canard au Ballon" ("The Balloon Hoax") sans aucun commentaire. Un journal aussi bien pensant aurait-il consacré six colonnes à un auteur honni de tous les honnêtes gens? Edgar Allan Poe n'était alors connu et apprécié—ou haï—que par un certain nombre de spécialistes de littératures étrangères.

Mais, si le public ne s'est guère occupé de lui, son influence littéraire a été profonde. Elle répondait à un besoin que certains esprits éprouvaient depuis plusieurs années. Théophile Gautier, Baudelaire retrouvaient certaines de ses théories longtemps avant de connaître ses essais ou ses vers. La rupture entre le classicisme et le romantisme a été moins brusque, moins définitive que celle qui s'est produite entre le romantisme et la nouvelle école, qui devait accueillir les doctrines du poète américain. Les deux grands courants des premières années du siècle avaient encore bien des principes communs: les fins de la littérature ne changeaient guère, non plus que les traditions. Au contraire, en 1850, la chaîne ininterrompue depuis des siècles se brisait. La poésie devenait une mystique, presque une hallucination, mais une hallucination volontaire. Toute conciliation était impossible.

On ne s'est jamais lassé de commenter le rôle de Poe dans cette nouvelle initiation littéraire. Depuis sept ans, on lui a consacré trois ouvrages: L. Seylaz, *Edgar Poe et les premiers symbolistes français*;<sup>1</sup> R. Vivier, *L'Originalité de Baudelaire*;<sup>2</sup> C. P. Cambiaire, *The Influence of E. A. Poe in France*.<sup>3</sup>

Sujet séduisant, mais qui réclame un talent extrême, car il est subtil et fuyant. Le premier nom qui s'impose à l'esprit est celui de Baudelaire, et l'on saisit de suite la complexité de l'étude: Baudelaire a connu toute l'œuvre de Poe, mais seulement lorsque, pour son propre compte, il eut retrouvé en partie les doctrines que l'Américain avait formulées quinze ans plus tôt. Plusieurs pièces des *Fleurs du Mal*, dont quelques-unes sont parmi les plus belles et les plus caractéristiques du recueil, étaient déjà composées. Il semble que Baudelaire ait vu un véritable évangile dans *The Philosophy of Composition* et *The Poetic Principle*. Mais est-ce Poe ou lui-même qu'il exprime dans le projet de préface pour les *Fleurs du Mal* ou dans l'*Art romantique*? Poe a été une révélation foudroyante pour Baudelaire, qui a toujours insisté sur l'immense dette qu'il avait contractée vis-à-vis de l'auteur des contes. Cependant, M. Seylaz semble aller trop loin dans ses affirmations.

Baudelaire lui-même indique deux poèmes dont il s'est inspiré: *To Helen* dans *Le Flambeau vivant*, et *The Haunted Palace* dans *L'Héautontimorouménos*: il en existe d'autres, mais il ne faut pas exagérer le nombre de ces imitations.

<sup>1</sup> Lausanne, 1923.

<sup>2</sup> Paris, 1926.

<sup>3</sup> New York, 1927.

Cette question des emprunts faits par Baudelaire à Poe avait souvent été traitée, avec des résultats inattendus. Mr. Arthur Patterson<sup>1</sup> ne voyait dans les *Fleurs du Mal* qu'un long plagiat. Par contre, M. Vivier, dans *L'Originalité de Baudelaire* nie toute influence de Poe. Pour démontrer cette thèse, il tente de retrouver un long passé français pour chacun des thèmes et même des mots de Baudelaire: Gilbert serait l'inspirateur de *Bénédiction*, Delille du *Balcon*, etc. Si l'on veut! mais alors l'idée centrale des poèmes a singulièrement évolué! Après une longue étude de ce genre, M. Vivier fait la synthèse de toutes ces sources et, ce qui semble assez compréhensible, ne retrouve plus l'accent si particulier des *Fleurs du Mal*. La méthode est défectueuse; pratiquée avec plus de souplesse, elle pourrait cependant donner quelques résultats dignes d'attention.

La deuxième partie du livre de M. Seylaz étudie les emprunts faits à Poe par Villiers de l'Isle-Adam. Ici, l'influence est nette. Chez Verlaine et Rimbaud, par contre, la trace de l'œuvre de Poe devient infiniment pâle, nulle peut-être, quoi qu'en dise le critique. On la retrouve dans toute sa force chez Mallarmé.

M. Seylaz s'arrête à l'école décadente, et les auteurs plus modernes n'ont été étudiés que par M. Cambiaire. Le sujet que ce dernier s'est proposé est écrasant. En dépit de son érudition, il ne peut épuiser en trois cents pages un travail qui exigerait plusieurs volumes: les traducteurs de Poe, les critiques, son influence sur les Symbolistes, sur Rollinat, sur Samain, sur Maeterlinck, etc. L'abondance des documents, critiqués cependant de façon insuffisante, crée un certain flottement. L'auteur disperse son attention, et on a l'impression que tous les écrivains qu'il étudie sont placés sur un même plan.

Il semble que depuis trente ans, Poe soit tombé entre les mains de vulgarisateurs, dont l'un des plus importants est Jules Verne. Ceci expliquerait pourquoi il a frappé à la fois des esprits très différents, Samain et Leroux, par exemple.

Parmi les études de détail qui se rattachent aux aspects secondaires, pour ainsi dire, de l'influence de Poe en France, il faut citer les pages de M. Cœuroy sur "Poe et la musique."<sup>2</sup> L'étude est brève, et mériterait d'être approfondie. L'attitude personnelle du poète vis-à-vis de la musique a été signalée par tous ses biographes: il l'adorait et chantait bien. Quels musiciens connaissait-il? Il cite à plusieurs reprises les dernières compositions de Mozart. Dans "The Fall of the House of Usher," il parle de la dernière valse de Weber, et ceci est une indication précieuse: Weber, le créateur du romantisme fantastique, l'auteur d'*Obéron* et d'*Euryanthe*, dont l'influence est sensible chez Berlioz et Wagner. Peut-être serait-il possible de déterminer dans quelle mesure Poe connaissait ou pouvait connaître les œuvres des grands maîtres.

<sup>1</sup> *L'Influence d'Edgar Poe sur Baudelaire* (Grenoble, 1903).

<sup>2</sup> Dans *Musique et littérature* (Paris, 1923).

Il n'a pas été seulement un amateur: en quelque sorte, il a été un théoricien de la musique dans *The Poetic Principle* en particulier:

There can be little doubt that in the union of poetry with music we shall find the widest field for the poetic development. . . . It is in music, perhaps, that the soul most nearly attains that great end for which, when inspired by the poetic sentiment, it struggles—the creation of supernal beauty. . . .

Tout le passage devrait être pesé et étudié, car il s'y trouve comme une ébauche des théories de Wagner: on sait combien cet état d'esprit était opposé au goût du temps.

Une étude des contes fournirait probablement de nombreuses données pour un recherche de ce genre—car il est superflu d'insister, une fois de plus, sur l'harmonie des poèmes. La plupart des héros de Poe sont musiciens. Usher, compositeur sur le mode halluciné, vit dans une sorte de hantise sonore, de "Marche au Supplice," comme dans la *Symphonie fantastique* de Berlioz. Ligeia, elle aussi, évolue dans une ambiance musicale. Il semble que Poe identifie ses personnages d'après leur voix, dont le timbre et l'expression sont toujours plus nets que tous leurs autres traits: il en est ainsi dans "The Assignment," dans "William Wilson," dans "Shadow," dans "Silence."

Non seulement les voix, mais encore les bruits de la nature sont notés, au sens technique du mot: les cloches, dans *The Bells*, et les variations cocasses des carillons dans *The Devil in the Belfry*, la grande voix de la mer en furie dans "A Descent into the Maelstrom." Ceci dépasse la simple recherche du pittoresque. On sent réellement un culte de la musique, de l'harmonie comme moyen et comme fin. Poe est l'un des très rares artistes pour qui le monde est un ensemble de sonorités plus encore qu'une suite de tableaux. Pour lui, la musique forme l'âme profonde des choses.

L'influence musicale du poète vaut la peine d'être signalée, car Debussy lui-même voulut prendre dans son œuvre deux sujets d'opéras, *La Chute de la Maison Usher* et *Le Diable dans le Beffroi*. Il commença à y travailler en 1902, tout de suite après le grand succès de *Pelléas et Mélisande*. *Le Diable* devait être une sorte de symphonie bouffonne, un dérèglement de gestes et de sons, quelque chose comme les *Minstrels*; *La Chute* aurait été le poème de l'hallucination, des pressentiments toujours plus intenses et plus oppressants, jusqu'à la catastrophe qui ramenait le calme, avec la mort.

Dans *Pelléas*, Claude Debussy avait adapté sa musique à la pièce de Maeterlinck; dans les deux nouvelles œuvres qu'il projetait, il ne voulut pas de collaborateur. Suivant, instinctivement peut-être, les doctrines de Poe lui-même, il composa lui-même ses livrets. Après de très nombreuses retouches, il les termina et commença l'orchestration, mais celle-ci ne fut jamais qu'ébauchée. Il mourut avant d'avoir pu donner une forme satisfaisante aux hallucinations tragiques de Roderick Usher. Il laissa les deux opéras à l'état d'esquisses très incomplètes: c'est là, sans doute, une perte immense.

Tout a-t-il été dit sur Edgar Allan Poe? Certes non. Aussi étrange que cela paraisse, personne n'a étudié son influence sur la littérature anglaise. Pourtant, l'intérêt et l'utilité d'une telle étude sont incontestables.

La réputation de Poe a varié de façons curieuses et profondes. Après plus de quatre-vingts ans de discussions, de calomnies et de luttes, il semble qu'on ait enfin recueilli les éléments suffisants pour juger loyalement son œuvre. La lenteur, la peine avec laquelle sa renommée s'est établie laissent une impression presque douloureuse, d'autant plus même que les haines et les injustices ne sont pas éteintes. Elles se réveillent à tout moment. En dépit de tant d'ouvrages critiques, il reste encore des lacunes. Il serait bon de les combler; car Poe est incontestablement l'un des écrivains les plus originaux, les plus puissants du milieu du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*Die Englische Literatur in Mittelalter.* By HANS HECHT and LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING. Potsdam, 1930. ("Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft.") Pp. 190.

The present volume is in every way a worthy member of the excellent series to which it belongs. The paper and printing are inviting, and the illustrations are unusually handsome. There are eight full-page reproductions of manuscript illuminations, most of them in colors, and a gratifying abundance of less pretentious illustrations which are not only attractive and clear but helpful to the student by reason of their appropriateness and historical value.

The authors have divided medieval English literature into three sections: I, "Die angelsächsische und frühmittelenglische Dichtung" (by Schücking); II, "Das 14. Jahrhundert. Entstarkung und Ausbreitung des nationalen Elementes in der mittelenglischen Literatur" (by Hecht); and III, "Der Ausgang des Mittelalters" (by Hecht). About one-third of the space is devoted to Anglo-Saxon and Early Middle English literature and two-thirds to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a proportion that seems to accord well with the bulk and number of the documents and that is further justified by the fact that Anglo-Saxon literature is given special treatment in Heusler's *Altgermanische Dichtung* in the same series.

There has been for some time a place for just such a book as this, covering in a general but efficient way the period from the beginnings to about 1500. The present book is well adapted to the need. The authors have written for an audience of students who are fairly well informed on the subject of literary history in general but are not specialists in this particular field. For this reason they have left the treatment of bibliography and exact detail to Wells and Brandl. At the same time the specialist who fails to consult the work runs the risk of serious loss, for it is a compact, well-organized, readable, and sound treatment of a period that so far is known generally speaking only through detailed monographs or sketchy chapters in histories of English literature as a whole.

The proportion between the fulness of the commentary and the importance of the document has been carefully preserved throughout. The sections on Chaucer and *Piers Plowman*, for example, contain extensive and independent discussions which constitute not only a fresh synthesis of the scholarship but also a pleasing contribution to literary interpretation. Pieces of less importance are accorded less space, and yet even when the comment is reduced to a sentence or two it is usually a considered and voluntary judgment based on

the texts themselves. The summaries which are disposed throughout the volume with sound judgment of the reader's needs are not mere abbreviations of the text but interpretative restatements of its substance.

The authors have limited themselves severely to documents in the English language. Latin writings are not mentioned, except for a few notable pieces composed by authors who wrote also in English. The Latin literature of the Middle Ages has long been a troublesome element to dispose of. Historians of the vernacular literatures can yield it a place only by giving up, outwardly at least, what they regard as the basic criterion of nationality in literature—language. Latin, however, was not a national language in the Middle Ages, and it seems somehow unjust to banish to a separate volume works composed by members of the English nation merely because they wrote in the language of the learned. Bede, Aldhelm, Lanfranc, Gerald de Barry, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Walter Map, John of Salisbury, and Roger Bacon belong to English life and thought fully as much as Cynewulf or Richard Rolle. The decision in this matter, however, quite probably rested with the editors of the series as a whole rather than with the authors of this particular volume.

On pages 186–88 appears a list of helpful works relating to English literary culture. Although this list is not intended to be exhaustive, one would have expected to find mentioned, along with the general works, W. H. Schofield's *History of English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*. It is perhaps inconsistent to include among the books dealing with *Gawain and the Green Knight* two works on the Order of the Garter and at the same time to omit G. L. Kittredge's *Gawain and the Green Knight*. The omission of J. M. Manly's *Specimens of the Pre-Shakesperian Drama* from the list of medieval drama texts is probably an oversight.

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*The Proverbs of Alfred. Studied in the Light of the Recently Discovered Maidstone Manuscript.* By HELEN PENNOCK SOUTH. New York: New York University Press, 1931. Pp. viii + 168.

In 1926 Professor Carleton Brown announced his discovery of a new, incomplete version of *The Proverbs of Alfred*, published it, and pointed out its significance in contributing to the solution of the textual problems of *The Proverbs* (*Modern Language Review*, Vol. XXI). Now one of his pupils, Dr. Helen Pennock South, presents a new edition of the poem, in which she prints the Maidstone version (Professor Brown's find), Wanley's copy of 30 lines of the destroyed version in a Cotton manuscript, Spelman's copy of lines 31–95 from a transcript made by Sir Thomas Cotton of the same manuscript, Richard James's copy of a transcript made by Thomas Allen presumably from the same manuscript, and such parts of the Trinity version as are needed to sup-

plement the three versions mentioned and make the text complete. In her Introduction Dr. South discusses in detail the manuscripts and editions; then she gives good reason for identifying the Sifforde, mentioned in the first line of the poem, with Shefford in Berkshire. In this connection she remarks: "That Winchester was not used as the setting for the poem strongly suggests that the author lived in an earlier period in which tradition associated Alfred with Siford." What "earlier period" means is hardly clear; since Alfred actually resided at Winchester, traditions associating him with that city must be as early as those connecting him with any other place. In a chapter entitled "Early Literary References," Dr. South tries to show that the *Proverbs* influenced several early works. Her decision that it was probably not the source of the proverbs in *The Owl and the Nightingale* shows good judgment; but in other cases it is to be feared that her decision is not so sound. For instance, that the lines beginning a *Long Life*—

Mon may longe lyues wene  
Ac ofte him lyeh þe wrench—

are related to a passage in the *Proverbs* and also to one in the *Ancren Riwele* can hardly be contested. But in view of the lack of any other sure connections, one cannot safely decide where that proverb originated. When dealing with material like this, one must realize that any particular proverb may not be original in any literary source known to us but may have come into all the pieces in which it appears from popular lore. Certainly if so long a work as the *Ancren Riwele* offers "no other contact with the *Proverbs*," one must conclude that borrowing from that poem in this one case is highly improbable. Again, when but one passage sufficiently similar to warrant consideration connects the *Proverbs* with *The Lambeth Homilies*, the reasonable assumption is that the *Homilies* got it from a common source rather than directly from the *Proverbs*. Much the same is true of the relation of *Lazamon* to the *Proverbs*: a connection between the last two lines in the *Brut* and a couplet in the *Proverbs* is evident, but, as the matter is proverbial, the likelihood of independent usage of a proverb must be considered. The other similarities suggested between the *Proverbs* and *Brut* are unconvincing because they lack any verbal correspondences, except the expression "England's darling" applied to Alfred. Since that phrase is used by *Lazamon* many times and of many kings, one would suppose that if there is a direct connection, the *Proverbs* took it from the *Brut*. By a careful study of the language, Dr. South shows that Cotton and Maidstone belong to the southern part of East Midland; Trinity, to Southeast East Midland; and Jesus, to Central South or Southwest.

In 1926 Professor Brown remarked that the Cotton version might be regarded as very near the archetype. Dr. South tends to take this statement too literally. In differing phrase she repeats the idea until we find her writing: "The Cotton Galba Ms. may be regarded as the archetypal Ms. of the *Prov-*

erbs" (p. 101). If by this she means that it was the actual source of the extant texts there is little *a priori* likelihood that the idea is right (for in no case of an English poem is a known MS source of all remaining versions). It is, at times, difficult to understand just what her statements mean. For instance: "the fact that *M.* at times agrees with *I.* or *J.* as against the other shows that it belongs to the parent stem previous to the forking of *I.* and *J.*" (p. 22). If that sentence implies that *I* and *J* constitute a subgroup, the evidence cited does not prove such a conception for the evidence necessary to prove that point would be common faults in *T* and *J* as compared with *M.* The fact that *M* agrees at times with *T* and at other times with *J* suggests that the three are derived independently from the original. In order to decide whether Cotton really is the source of the extant texts, one would naturally try to determine whether Cotton ever has an erroneous reading at a point where an extant text has the right one. Unfortunately, not enough of Cotton remains (in copies) to give much opportunity for such proof. But for whatever they may be worth, a few facts may be cited: no extant copy of Cotton gives lines 47-48, and, hence, unless an ancestor of *T* and *J* added them, Cotton cannot be the archetype; the only copy of Cotton for line 60 has an unintelligible reading; in line 411 James's copy has *soreje*, which does not alliterate, and Trinity has *armbe*, which does; in line 66, Spelman's and James's copies have *icweme*, which doesn't make sense. *T* reads *kenne*, which Dr. South says "certainly does not fit"; but doesn't it? *T*'s reading means: "[unless] he proclaim or make known his writs"—an expression that is not meaningless in its context. From these citations one is tempted to conclude that Cotton has errors not found in *T* and *J* and hence that it cannot be regarded as the archetype.

On the other hand, Dr. South gives no evidence of common errors except the fact (noted by Professor Brown) that in line 117 *T* and *J* read *God* against *M*'s *Crist* and Spelman's *Cristus*. Since *Crist* and *God* were familiar synonyms, independent substitutions of one for the other are quite possible. Another possible common error is *T* and *J*'s omission of line 71\*; but as that is merely part of a formula of introduction (found also in l. 25) perhaps Cotton added it. In line 14, *T* and *J*'s *3e* is probably a substitution for *hi* (Cotton), for in the next line where *T* has *3e zure*, *J* agrees with Cotton in *hi here*; but those facts suggest that *T* and *J*'s agreement in line 14 is due to chance. In line 22, *T* and *J*'s *werke*, instead of *speche*, looks like a real common error, but it is possible that the two independently took *werke* from line 20. Finally in line 27, *T* and *J*'s *mi leden* (instead of *nu lipen*) is a common error. In view of the possibility of "contamination" and chance agreement, however, the evidence is hardly enough to warrant the conclusion that *T* and *J* are a subgroup.

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*A Bibliography of the Seventeenth-Century Novel in France.* By RALPH C. WILLIAMS. New York: Century Co., for the Modern Language Association of America, 1931. Pp. 335.

This valuable contribution to the history of the novel in France is composed of three parts: an alphabetical list of authors containing some 361 names, a chronological list of novels, and an alphabetical list of titles, which forms also an index with references to parts I and II, and contains some 1,245 titles. An Appendix adds about 93 titles of works of travel or biography which the compiler thinks it desirable to mention because of their close relationship to the type of novel common in the period. In addition to printed sources, Dr. Williams has utilized the MS of Delcro, *Dictionnaire universel des romans* (compiled about 1848) in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the MS *Catalogue des romans* in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. He excluded from his list, he tells us, all translations, works of travel, and historical compositions that are not imaginative in character, all *contes* and *nouvelles* too brief to be called novels, and all genuine *mémoires*. It is obvious that this part of the compiler's task involved an immense amount of reading and sifting.

The call numbers of copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, and the British Museum have been given whenever possible. When appropriate, a reference is given also to the Toinet Collection of the Library of Congress—about 22 items in Part I—and at least 1 item is noted as found in the Johns Hopkins Library. While it is probable that an examination of the catalogues of Cornell, Harvard, Princeton, and Yale would have made it appropriate to refer to other libraries in this country, it is obvious that a worker in this field must seek his material in European libraries.

A perusal of the titles in chronological order (Part II) suggests a few remarks. The words *amour* or *amoureux* recur so often that one begins to count and finds that one or the other appears in about 275 titles and that almost half of these titles belong to the first twenty-five years of the century. In almost 100 titles in Part III, *amours* is the key word; in some 30 titles, *aventures* (*aventures*, *avantures*) is the key word; and *histoire* is the key word in about 130 titles. Similarly the key word for some 20 titles is *mémoires*, all but 6 of these belonging to the last twenty years of the century and 11 falling in the last decade, the frequency at this time being due chiefly to the recurrence of the word in titles by Sandras de Courtitz and by Mme d'Aulnoy. The term appears almost for the first time in 1674 in the title of *Mémoires de la vie de Henriette de Molière*, long ascribed to Subligny, but by Dr. Williams, somewhat hesitatingly (cf. the ascription to D'Allègre, pp. 3, 278), attributed to Mme de Villedieu. More than 100 of the titles in Part II contain the noun *nouvelle* as a part of a title or a subtitle, usually in the form *nouvelle historique* or *nouvelle galante*. With four exceptions—an anonymous work of 1614; *Les Nouvelles françoises*, of Sorel (1623); an anonymous *Nouvelles de Lancelot* (1641); and *Nouvelles de la cour*, by de Ville (1645)—all the works so entitled were pub-

lished after 1650, which may be significant as indicating that a type making for brevity was in favor at the very time that the three-decker novel was attaining its greatest size. It may be added, however, that the tendency toward brevity should be viewed in a relative sense, for a number of the works that bear the term *nouvelle* in the singular were of considerable length. Examples are Mlle de Scudéry's *Céline, nouvelle première* (1661), 394 pages; E. Boursault's *Artémire et Poliante, nouvelle* (1670), 406 pages; Courtin's *Don Juan d'Autriche, nouvelle historique* (1672), 302 pages; the anonymous *Le Solitaire, nouvelle* (1677), 401 pages; Brémont's *Princesse de Montferrat, nouvelle . . .* (1677), 336 pages; the anonymous *Dom Sebastien, Roi de Portugal, nouvelle historique* (1679), 3 volumes, 12mo; and Mlle de Bernard's *Prince de Sicile, nouvelle historique* (1680[?]) 3 volumes, 12mo. Since, however, it was Dr. Williams' avowed intention to omit titles of the briefer *nouvelles*—one of 86 pages is about the briefest included in the list—and since terms are so often loosely applied, use of the term in the cases cited above does not cause very great surprise.

Nevertheless, this bibliography provides good reason for maintaining that the industry of French seventeenth-century novelists, in general, and the patience of their readers have been overestimated. A rapid check of the approximately five hundred titles listed in the years from 1600 to 1650 indicates that the tendency toward the long novel was much less strong than is usually held to be the case. Not more than thirty-five are listed as having more than one volume. Des Escuteaux published the first three-volume work (1613) and Rosset another (1620). *Francion* (1623) appeared in three volumes but in fewer than nine hundred pages; Le Maire's *La Prazimène* (1637) had four volumes; a number of the novels of the prolific Camus ran to over six hundred pages; the *Roman satyrique* of Jean de Lannel (1624) had more than a thousand pages, and when revamped as *Le Romant des Indes*, 1625 (Reynier, *Roman réaliste*, p. 386, and Wurzbach, *Geschichte des französischen Romans* [Heidelberg, 1912], p. 320, give 1625) increased almost 100 per cent in size; but aside from the *Astrée*, it was not until Gomberville published *Polexandre*, five volumes (1629–37), and La Calprenède began to publish his mammoths—*Pharamond*, 1641 (Lanson gives 1658–81; Koerting states that the *privilege* was granted in 1658 and the first three volumes were printed by 1661, seven being ready by his death in 1663; Brunet gives 1661–70, and the Bibliothèque Nationale lists seven copies all dated 1661–70), *Cassandre*, ten volumes, 1642–45, *Cléopâtre*, twelve volumes, beginning in 1646—and Mlle de Scudéry published *Ibrahim* (1641), that the era of the excessively long novel really arrived. The situation after 1650 is not dissimilar. When the above-named exemplars of mass production had left the field—*Clélie*, ten volumes, belongs to 1654–60—only Vaumorière, Mme de Villedieu, and one or two others carried on the many-volumed type, and a beggarly six volumes (Mme de Villedieu, *Journal amoureux* [1671]) appears to be the maximum attained. Whatever may have been the causes of the tumefaction of the

works of the best-known novelists of the century, their books were, as regards length, the exception rather than the rule.

It is of interest also to note the considerable number of titles in Part III—above one hundred and well over 10 per cent of the whole—which by their wording suggest an exotic setting or material, from Du Verdier's *Les Amours et les armes des princes de Grèce* (1623) or Baudoin's *Les Aventures de la cour de Perse* (1629) to the *Histoire secrète de Henry IV, roi de Castille* by Mlle de la Force (1695) or to *Ines de Cordouë, nouvelle espagnole* by Mlle Bernard (1696). Seventeenth-century French novelists were not stay-at-homes, in their imaginations, at least.

I add a few notes on details.

The reader notes that whereas Dr. Williams refers rather often to Nyon's portion of the catalogues of the library of the Duke de la Vallière, it is not listed among his sources (pp. ix-x). He attributes *L'Amour échappé* (1669) to "M. D." (p. 197), whereas Waldberg (*Der empfindsame Roman in Frankreich* [Berlin, 1906], p. 438, n. 51) attributes it to de Vizé on the strength of a letter of February 23, 1678, of Pierre Bayle to his brother (*Nouvelles lettres* [La Haye, 1739], p. 389) and says that the work is a collection of *nouvelles* and not a novel, which raises the question whether Dr. Williams has been successful in excluding the briefer *nouvelle* from his bibliography, and, indeed, whether the compilation would not be more valuable if *conte* and *nouvelle* were both included.

Is the work listed in 1678 as *Lettres d'amour d'une Religieuse écrites au Chevalier de C., officier françois en Portugal, avec celles dudit Chevalier*, Cologne, 12mo (p. 214), actually but an edition of the *Lettres portugaises*, first published in 1669? This volume is listed as being only in the Arsenal library, and the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale does not list a Cologne edition of the *Lettres portugaises*, although it does list several other editions bearing the title given above (La Haye, 1682 and 1689).

There is every probability that *La Narquoise Justine* (p. 162) is a translation (see Reynier, *Roman réaliste*, p. 389).

One could wish that the chronological list (Part II) indicated the dates of publication of the parts of such works as *L'Astrée*, *Francion*, *Le Roman comique*. This might have given rise to some difficulties, but references to fuller discussions could have taken care of unsettled points.

ALGERNON COLEMAN

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*Bayle the Sceptic.* By HOWARD ROBINSON. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931. Pp. x+334.

If, as is often contended, the proper task of a critic were merely to find out what the author set out to do, and how he has done it, unreserved praise should be lavished on this new study of Bayle. Mr. Robinson is a sincere and intelligent admirer of Bayle; he tells the story of Bayle's life with vividness and

charm; he sums up his works and his ideas and manages to interest his modern readers in the theological and philosophical quarrels over Jurieu and Bossuet, the comet, tolerance, and original sin. Many quotations, ably translated into English, are woven into the text; let it be hoped that they may persuade new devotees to open volumes which are not easily accessible, and which are more often mentioned than actually read. The material is organized with skill and order; this had not been conspicuously the case with the recent studies on a man who, himself, put less clarity and order into his form than he actually had in his ideas. The style is alert and pervaded with a welcome tone of light, ironical humor. If there is, in the English-speaking world, a general public interested in Bayle, this book should be commended as an excellent initiation into the subject.

Scholars are likely to be less easily satisfied; the book, to be sure, is not primarily meant for such supercilious critics; but they will regret that so many fine qualities should have been expended on telling a tale already told—in French. Mr. Robinson is accurate and painstaking; why then did he not choose to elucidate some more limited aspect of his subject? His penetration, his open-mindedness, would have enabled him to reach some new conclusions, which he does not do. As it is, *Bayle the Sceptic* is decidedly less valuable than Delvolvé's ponderous, but searching, study of Bayle's philosophy, than Lacoste's recent work on Bayle as a journalist and literary critic; and, for all persons having a reading knowledge of French, it is more bulky, more expensive, and less useful than Caze's modest volume of extracts.

This attitude, on the part of a reviewer, may appear unsympathetic; and it is monotonous, and somewhat too easy, to ask, whenever a new volume comes out: Was there any need for it? But we cannot help thinking that, in the present era of deflation and thrift, scholars should gain, in the long run, by being less easily satisfied. If American scholarship in the French field is to get recognition in Europe, it should not be content with repeating in English and adapting for American readers what has already been said in French or in German. The aim is not beyond our reach; no startling revelations are needed, no unpublished letters or unexplored archives. Why not, for instance, instead of always concentrating on Bayle's influence on the eighteenth century (yet, even there, a new critical examination of Voltaire's or of Diderot's indebtedness to Bayle would be welcome, after so many vague assertions), it would be well to go more deeply into the sources of Bayle's thought. M. Delvolvé has carefully weighed the influence of Descartes on Bayle; but what about Hobbes, whom Mr. Robinson does not even mention? What about Gassendi? Such important subjects as Montaigne's influence on the seventeenth century, as Gassendi, Saint-Évremond, still await the searchers who will treat them adequately. The same is true of La Mothe Le Vayer, "l'auteur français qui approche le plus de Plutarque," said Bayle, who ranked him very high. Bayle's remarks on Pascal should be considered in the light of other comments of the time: a complete study of Pascal's fame and influence from 1670 to 1715,

through Fénelon, La Bruyère, Bayle, to Boulainvilliers, Burigny, de Lassay, and Voltaire's "anti-Pascal" is indeed sorely needed. Generally speaking, we think a truer perspective would be gained if scholars would, once for all, enlarge their conception of the French seventeenth century, so as to include in it Bayle, who died fourteen years before Malebranche, five years before Boileau, only two years after Bossuet and Bourdaloue, seven years after Racine, and fully twenty-nine years after Spinoza. Rimbaud and Lautréamont are not ranked among twentieth-century writers, although they found their real public only after 1900. Bayle is the forerunner of the Encyclopedists, but he must also be viewed as a contemporary of Boileau and La Fontaine (who both knew how to appreciate him), and as an independent follower of Descartes. Oversimplified notions of literary historians have reduced the seventeenth century to the few masterpieces of French classicism; it is also the century of Louis XIII and of the Fronde, the greatest epoch of French philosophy and of French science.

Mr. Robinson passes too hastily over many problems, every one of which would deserve careful separate treatment. The very title of his book, and hence his presentation of Bayle as a skeptic, is too simple to prove acceptable. Sainte-Beuve, a century ago, and M. Delvolvé, in his philosophical study, chose to see in Bayle, not a skeptic, but a "critic"—"le génie critique dans sa pureté et son plein," as Sainte-Beuve put it. With all its qualities, this book is neither new nor profound. One deplores it all the more, as one feels that the author had in him the means to do much better.<sup>1</sup>

HENRI PEYRE

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*Créatures chez Balzac.* By PIERRE ABRAHAM. Paris: Librairie Gallimard, Editions de la Nouvelle Revue Française, June, 1931. Pp. 342.

In *Créatures*, Pierre Abraham initiates Balzacians into a wealth of research which does not follow the beaten path. He withdraws resolutely from the study of heredity, environment, and influence. A study of such causes reveals the qualities which set an author apart from other men. Far more

<sup>1</sup> The material presentation of the book is worthy of every praise. The mistakes in the spelling of French names are very rare: Pelisson, p. 121, should be Pellisson. But the only two quotations in French in the volume are faulty: "le" should be added before "consulter" in the verse passage, p. 290, l. 2; and "infectées" should be the right word, p. 293, l. 3. Mr. Robinson has appended to his volume a very useful Bibliography, the best we have yet of Bayle. One notices, however, some curious omissions: for instance, Lanson's very important articles in the *Revue des cours et conférences*, 1907-8, pp. 629-37, 738-52, 817-29, and 1909-10, pp. 241-50 and 737-41. Lacoste's recent work on *Bayle novelliste et critique littéraire* (Paris: Picart, 1929) might have been mentioned, since it was published two years before Mr. Robinson's volume; Monod's *De Pascal à Chateaubriand* (Paris, 1916) gives much space to Bayle. Bréhier's recent *Histoire de la philosophie* (Tome II, *La philosophie moderne*, Vol. I, *Le dix-septième siècle* [Paris: Alcan, 1929]) should not be overlooked as the most convenient work of reference on the philosophical side of the subject. Finally, among the numerous articles on Bayle, Mr. Robinson might have mentioned an important one by Lévy-Bruhl in the *Revue d'histoire de la philosophie*, 1927, and the American contribution of Mr. H. Haxo, in *PMLA*, XXXVIII (1923), 823-58.

valuable in M. Abraham's estimation are the qualities which an author has in common with all men. These are revealed in the "means" used by a writer in the creation of his work. "The causes which produce a great man disappear with him, the means which he used exist in us and around us."

A true understanding of the means used by an author comes from scientific psychological tests applied to his material. M. Abraham has chosen for his tests the physical descriptions of Balzac's characters, beginning with those in whom Balzac looks at himself as if in a mirror. It seems reasonable to omit Raphaël Valentin, but M. Abraham might well have added Joseph Bridau to the group which includes Louis Lambert, Oscar Husson, Félix de Vandenesse, Athanase Granson, David Séchard, Lucien de Rubempré (who is "l'opposé physique de Balzac"), Daniel d'Arthez, Z. Marcas, Albert Savarus, and Dr. Benassis. These portraits offer incarnations and snapshots of Balzac at different ages. Certainly Joseph Bridau, as "a man of genius who knew poverty," contributes to the picture with his "tête énorme, son vaste front, son intelligence précoce, ses cheveux noirs abondants" (*Un Début dans la vie*). These are precise details which seem to contradict M. Abraham's statement (p. 115) that Balzac "se refuge dans des généralités" when describing Joseph Bridau.

M. Abraham has discovered another portrait of Balzac by himself in an unpublished *Avertissement* preceding and bound up with the manuscript of *Les Chouans* at Chantilly. Under the pseudonym of Victor Morillon, Balzac really presents himself as the author of *Le Gars*. Balzacians will be grateful to M. Abraham for publishing these pages in full, and for making illuminating comments and a suggestive decision as to the date when this first form of *Les Chouans* was composed: August or September, 1827. Particularly interesting is his most recent discovery that the family names Morillon and St. Hérem attributed by Balzac to Vendômois are in reality a mountain and a cross near La Bouleaunière, the country home of Mme de Berny in Gâtinais (Appendix).

The volume likewise includes two chapters previously published in the *Bulletins de la Société de Morphologie* on "La Couleur des yeux" and "La Couleur des cheveux" (1927, 1928). Unscientific minds may be startled at first by this curious array of statistics and may consider them far removed from literary creation proper. M. Abraham, on the contrary, finds in these data the proof of a subconsciously scientific method of physical description used by Balzac. This method consists in the association of certain moral qualities with certain physical attributes. Balzac made constant use of Buffon, Lavater, and Gall. In fusing this scientific knowledge with his own observations and impulses, Balzac created a world in which the great artists, for instance, have for the most part passionate natures, dark hair, and dark eyes. The relation of such characters to Balzac himself is transitory and of minor importance in a serious analysis of the mysterious processes of fictional creation.

From these physical attributes M. Abraham passes to a study of Balzac's use of zoological and historical comparisons in physical descriptions. Animated nature includes comparisons to landscapes, vegetables, and animals with the carnivorous animals in the lead. M. Abraham draws up a zoological table for the *Comédie humaine* in terms of Cuvier; he finds that this corresponds to the animals in La Fontaine as well as to the tables of Le Brun and Lavater. Balzac therefore follows general laws in his use of animalistic comparisons. Chicago students have long been accustomed to stress the importance of these in the *Comédie humaine*.

This study of comparisons, including also the historical variety, is convincing proof to M. Abraham of the frequent statement that Balzac lived more truly in his fictitious world than in the world about him. Then M. Abraham conceives a new thought: that his intellectual withdrawal from the world enabled Balzac to use his creative power automatically. The great novelist is a striking example of a creator who submitted himself to automatic laws in order to make his work homogeneous. In all of us automatism plays a larger part than we realize, while the creative artist in particular (witness George Sand) poses this problem in a striking form.

Certainly M. Abraham has given Balzacians several new points of departure. His conclusions in regard to the physical descriptions of Balzac have caused the International Congress of Anthropology to launch a similar investigation of great novelists in all languages, as recorded in the report of the meeting in Portugal, September, 1930 (Appendix). The drawback of such investigations for the layman with a literary point of view is the tendency of scientific investigators to use an ultra-technical vocabulary. M. Abraham's previous books, *Figures* (edd. de la *Nouvelle Revue française*), *Balzac*, and *Proust* (Rieder), first showed this new approach in literary research. He seems to be a pioneer in combining psychological, anthropological, and literary research in a way mutually advantageous for all three fields. It will be interesting to see what will be his next contribution in his chosen field of "Recherches sur la création intellectuelle."

ETHEL PRESTON

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*L'Idée de l'art pour l'art dans la littérature anglaise pendant la période victorienne.* Par LOUISE ROSENBLATT. ("Bibliothèque de la Revue de littérature comparée.") Paris: Champion, 1931. Pp. 329.

Miss Rosenblatt's thesis aims at covering completely a question which had hitherto been the object of fragmentary studies, and, from this point of view, her book has a special interest. The problem was no easy one. Even in France the doctrine of art for art's sake presents itself at times in rather nebulous form; and, in England, it tends often to appear mixed only with other ideas or theories. This is not to say that we accept M. Cassagne's assertion, behind

which Miss Rosenblatt shelters herself at the outset, that the doctrine cannot be defined. However much individual interpretation and application may vary, there can be no doubt as to its basic principles; and it would be easy to show that on these, at all events, a Gautier, a Baudelaire, and a Flaubert are in complete accord. In England, the disciples of *l'art pour l'art* exhibit divergence of temperament and inspiration rather than differences on the fundamentals of the matter.

The attitude the doctrine implies was, of course, inevitable sooner or later in England even without foreign influence. Its appearance in the romantic period happens to be linked with certain currents of German thought; but the growing gulf between the aspirations of writers and those of the public at large would have brought it forth in any case. Coleridge's affirmation that the end of poetry is pleasure, not edification, the corresponding attitude of Lamb and Hazlitt in regard to poetry, mark already a significant step in this direction. Leigh Hunt advocates openly "poetry for poetry's sake." Of these precursors, the greatest is naturally Keats. We are not sure that the pages devoted to the poet bring out the amazingly exclusive allegiance to the cause of beauty that is the distinctive trait, not merely of his verse, but of his life. It is something instinctive in him, the passionate claim of the artist, as clear, as decisive, in its way, as with Gautier or Flaubert. And it could be demonstrated that on many points—on all the essential ones—he directly anticipates the French theorists of art for art's sake.

With the Victorian period a new phase opens. The conflict between the artists and the bourgeois public becomes more acute. Ruskin's plea for beauty stresses one aspect of this conflict; but, so far as art for art's sake is concerned, his influence could only be indirect, for his teaching leads away from such a standpoint as Keats's. With the Pre-Raphaelites, we are on firmer ground. Miss Rosenblatt goes to a good deal of trouble to explain exactly what she means by "Pre-Raphaelites"; but this, after all, is a minor issue. What is evident is that with Rossetti, the aesthetic side of art is everywhere stressed, and ethical considerations pass into the background. But here, as with Keats, there is no ordered exposition of a doctrine; and that Rossetti himself was not wholly aware of the real consequences of his attitude is shown by the very system of defense he used against the attacks of Buchanan. Practically all the earlier work of Morris reveals a point of view not very far removed from that of the disciples of art for art's sake, but it is difficult to admit, with Miss Rosenblatt, that his later activities could have met with their approval. "All art is useless," Wilde will say, summing up in characteristic fashion the fundamental tenet of the school; and to this the socialistic aestheticism of the later Morris runs absolutely counter.

It is Swinburne, of course, who appears as the first English theorist of the new creed. Miss Rosenblatt summarizes ably his debt to the French exponents of the theory. He owes everything to Gautier and to Baudelaire. His *Notes on Poems and Reviews* and his essay on Blake mark a date in the history of art for

art's sake in England. There, for the first time, is the clear-cut formula, reproducing exactly French precept, and tending to justify, significantly enough, verse drawn largely from French sources. The battle which rages round *Poems and Ballads* gives a foretaste of conflicts to come.

Swinburne was moving away from the theory he had so ardently sponsored when Pater's *Renaissance* appeared, with its clarion call to "art for its own sake." Miss Rosenblatt thinks that Swinburne's influence on Pater is "evidently of first importance." This is not so evident to us. Apart from an occasional resemblance in thought and style—which proves little—and a self-laudatory epistle of Swinburne—which proves still less—there is no decisive trace of any such influence. What matters, in any case, is that the rest of Pater's career is one long attempt to escape from the logical consequences of the *Conclusion* of 1873. Here psychological factors play an important part, and perhaps Miss Rosenblatt's study of the personal problem Pater offers does not go very deep.

In George Moore, Stevenson, and Henry James, French influences are at work in varying degrees; Miss Rosenblatt shows that these writers are all more or less in agreement as to the autonomy of art, though Moore is the only one to push the idea to its extreme limits.

The final chapter of the book deals with the so-called "decadents" of the "nineties." It is with them—with Wilde and Arthur Symonds in particular—that the doctrine of art for art's sake takes on its most decisive form. Our own impression is that Wilde's essay on the *Critic as an Artist*, based at once on Pater and on French example, contains the most brilliant exposition of the doctrine in the nineteenth century.

All the main aspects of the question are covered satisfactorily by Miss Rosenblatt's book. A very complete Bibliography is appended, but it is rather a surprise to find there no mention of B. Fehr, whose work on Pater and Wilde—particularly in the connection which interests Miss Rosenblatt—is of outstanding importance. It is a pity, too, since the book is presented in French, that the manuscript was not more thoroughly revised before printing. Such a revision would have made the work appear more definitely what it really is—a valuable contribution to the study of an important current of nineteenth-century literature.

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*Walter Paters Beziehungen zur französischen Literatur und Kultur.* By ARTHUR BEYER. ("Studien zur englischen Philologie.") Halle (Saale): Max Niemeyer, 1931. Pp. x+116.

Of the three parts into which Mr. Beyer's book is divided, the first—Pater and French literature—is, from our point of view, the most interesting. It is evident that, from beginning to end, French literature has an important place

in Pater's writings. His curiosity carried him into many fields, as is evident by the variety of French authors he studies, discusses, quotes, or alludes to at more or less length, and always *en connaissance de cause*. Certain of these authors had a definite influence over his outlook. He probably learned much from Gautier; there can be no doubt as to his indebtedness to Flaubert; and his critical attitude certainly owes a good deal to Sainte-Beuve.

All these points Mr. Beyer passes ably in review. Not all that he has to say in this connection is new; but he brings forward some important evidence in relation, notably, to Pater's knowledge of Sainte-Beuve. He shows that the essay on Du Bellay, in the *Renaissance*, contains phrases literally translated from the French critic, that the remarks on Voltaire and eighteenth-century taste in the essay on *Michael Angelo* are inspired by an article in the *Lundis*, that the study on Pascal draws largely on *Port-Royal*. Other results on the same lines could, we are convinced, be obtained by further investigation. It is curious that he should not remark that Pater mistranslates his model when he renders Sainte-Beuve's famous description of a classic—"énergique, frais, dispos"—by "qualities of energy, freshness, comely order"; all the more so since he cites Goethe's original formula—"stark, frisch, froh und gesund." Imitations of other writers are likewise brought to light—Michelet, for instance, from whom Pater takes the idea, set forth in "Two Early French Stories," of a "pre-Renaissance" in the twelfth century.

The second part deals with France in Pater's imaginative work. An examination of *Gaston de Latour*, *Denys l'Auxerrois*, and *Apollo in Picardy* reveals the serious nature of Pater's "documentation" on persons and places; and there are some pleasing pages on Pater's painting of French landscapes. In the third part, Mr. Beyer discusses Pater and French art—mainly, of course, the studies on French churches and the "imaginary portrait" of Watteau. Here again he unearths some interesting facts—for example, Pater's debt to Viollet le Duc on architectural questions.

Mr. Beyer's dissertation is an excellent piece of work. It is not only founded on a sound knowledge of Pater and of French literature; it shows everywhere a real sense of critical values. It is well composed, and well written. These qualities are too rare in works of this kind not to merit, on occasion, a grateful mention.

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## BRIEFER MENTION

Frederick Morris Warren, a member of the Advisory Board of this journal from the beginning and also a valued contributor, died at his home in New Haven, Connecticut, December 7, 1931. He had taught at Johns Hopkins, Western Reserve, and Yale University, where for twenty-six years he had been Street Professor of Modern Languages.

Warren was born in 1859, at Durham, Maine. From Amherst he received the degrees of A.B. in 1880, and L.H.D. in 1901. Coming under the influence of A. Marshall Elliott, Warren chose modern French literature as his field: here belong his *Primer* (1889), his *History of the Novel Previous to the Seventeenth Century* (1895), and his *Ten Frenchmen of the Nineteenth Century* (1904). Owing perhaps to a course of lectures which he gave at Johns Hopkins, his major interest seems in later years to have shifted to the medieval period; as early as 1898, his "Notes on the *Romans d'aventures*" (*Modern Language Notes*, XIII, 339-51) had attracted the attention of Gaston Paris (see the *Journal des Savants* [1902], p. 654). Of permanent value are his three articles, "Some Features of Style in Early French Narrative Poetry," an admirable essay of some 78 pages, printed in this journal, 1905-7.

As president in 1908 of the Modern Language Association of America, Warren made at the Princeton meeting a remarkable "Plea for the Study of Mediaeval Latin" (see *PMLA*, XXIV, xlviii ff.), a witness to his penetrating vision and to his tireless activity, and one piece of fuel among those soon to be ignited by the founders of *Speculum* and the Mediaeval Academy of America (see *Modern Philology*, XXI, 305). The following year, it was Warren who revived the project to honor A. Marshall Elliott with the volume of Romance studies which appeared in 1911.

At his retirement from the Yale professorship in 1926, Warren's studies apparently concentrated on the matter of historical elements in the Old French epics; see his notes on *Galafe* and *Galienne* published here in 1929 (XXVII, 23) and that upon the *Chanson de Guillaume* in the present issue. On re-reading his many articles and book reviews, one may record the impression that his outstanding trait was a certain rugged independence of outlook which refused to be content with received statements and opinions, and which said, "I will examine this matter for myself." Personally, he had that frank enthusiasm for scholarship and for those interested in it which won him many warm friends, all of whom will greatly miss his counsel and his encouragement.—T. A. J.

Since the publication in 1908 of Brandl's account of Old English literature in Paul's *Grundriss*, no single book has provided a satisfactory bibliography of

that subject. In May of last year, however, appeared in the "University of Iowa Studies, Humanistic Studies," Vol. IV, No. 5, *A Bibliographical Guide to Old English*, compiled by Arthur H. Heusinkveld and Edwin J. Bashe. This pamphlet of 153 pages provides just what has been needed. Its sections cover all phases of Old English, including "The People and Their Institutions," language, and paleography, as well as Old English prose and poetry. In all cases it indicates the chief bibliographical helps, generally lists the most important publications, and tries to give all important references since the publication of the last bibliography on each topic. The *Guide* is completed by indexes of modern authors and publications and of "Old English Writings."—J. R. H.

In the same format as Kenneth Sisam's *Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose* and Carleton Brown's *Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century*, the Oxford University Press has published *English Writings of Richard Rolle*, edited by Hope Emily Allen (1931). Miss Allen characterizes the book as "the pendant" to her well-known monograph on Rolle. In 119 pages the book "gives texts in full or in part of practically all Rolle's English writings." Prefixed to the texts is an Introduction of 64 pages, in which Miss Allen surveys Rolle's life and writings interestingly and informatively. Further, she provides head-notes to the selections, about 40 pages of notes to the texts, and a glossary. The fact (stated in a Preface), that J. A. Herbert, Esq., made the transcripts from rotographs for all the texts except one, is a guaranty of textual accuracy. Altogether this small volume offers the most attractive possible introduction to Rolle's life and ideas.—J. R. H.

In the Introduction to his edition (1892) of the old Venetian version of the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*, Francesco Novati says that four inedited prose Italian texts of this poem are known to him. One is in a codex of saints' lives, dating from about the end of the thirteenth century, and is now in the Comunale di Tours. This manuscript was described by Pannier and Mazzatinti; W. Söderhjelm considered editing it, but later abandoned the idea; E. G. R. Waters then undertook the work and completed it just before his death (*An Old Italian Version of the "Navigatio Sancti Brendani."* Edited by E. G. R. Waters. "Publications of the Philological Society," Vol. X. Oxford, 1931. Pp. vi+86).

This late thirteenth-century version in the dialect of Lucca is more closely related to the Latin *Navigatio* than the other three Italian texts. In fact, it seems to be a very literal translation of the Latin, though of which text is not known. The other Italian versions, all of the late fourteenth century, are derived from a common source and are translations with many interpolations. Novati thinks that they are perhaps literary renderings of an older dialectal version rather than translations from a Latin source. He also believes the fourteenth-century Venetian MS, which he has edited, to be the

parent of the Italian texts, but he admits that he knows little about the Tours MS. In view of the early date of the version in the Tours MS, its close relation to the Latin, as well as its similarity to the Italian texts in the matter of certain peculiar interpolations, this Lucchesan version may be the source for all the other Italian versions. Mr. Waters does not give an opinion on this, but in his edition he makes available a very important text with a complete study of its linguistic aspects, which will be very useful for another making such a study. It is to be regretted that death has prevented him from completing editions of other important versions of the *Navigatio*, which he had begun.—MARJORIE WILLIAMSON.

In his *Mittelniederdeutsche Fastnachtspiele* (zweite umgearbeitete Auflage; Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz Verlag, 1931) Wilhelm Seelmann reprints again the plays which he had published in 1885. This small volume contains practically all the Low German Shrovetide plays. There are five altogether; the last short poem is merely a group of verses in elucidation of the allegorical picture of the Wheel of Fortune once attached to it. Each text is based on the oldest print or manuscript. In the new edition, only the Introduction and notes have been changed or augmented, the former to bring the critical apparatus up to date. The first three plays, cited here with Seelmann's High German titles, are *Böse Frauen* (dealing with the cure of them), *Bauernbetrügerei* and *N. Mercatoris Fastnachtspiel*, a moralizing allegory (based on a dialogue between Life and Death, the text of which is published with our play). They were printed in Lübeck by Ballhorn and show some spellings characteristic of this region, yet the rhymes indicate that the first two at least were composed elsewhere. Regardless of their origin, all three represent the Lübeck or Low German type of plays as distinct from the High German. *Böse Frauen* shows an approach to dramatic motivation (p. 23), *Bauernbetrügerei* lacks the unrestraint of later plays (p. 29) and ranks above the High German Shrovetide plays in tone and language (p. 31), while N. Mercator's play is of the allegory type which was common in Lübeck (see C. Wehrmann, *Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch*, VI, 1 ff.). In the propagandistic *De Schewe Klot*, the Bishop of Hildesheim, under the guise of an optician, quarrels with the characters who represent the nobility of his district. The *Röbel* play is of the common coarse type which treats of the drunken brawls of peasants and townsmen. The new text appears in larger type and more attractive form and except for a few omissions of the *e* character above vowels is an exact reprint. Students of the medieval drama will welcome this handy little volume. It reminds specialists in German linguistics of Seelmann's long and honorable record, especially in Low German dialect studies.—CHARLES GOETSCH.

In *Studien zu den lateinischen und deutschsprachlichen Totentanztexten des 13. bis 17. Jahrhunderts* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1931; pp. 179), Ellen Breede surveys conveniently a long series of texts. The title suggests special investiga-

tions into them rather than a survey. At both beginning and end of her survey I find endeavors to suggest a still wider perspective: the introductory remarks on the conception of Death in classical times and during the German Middle Ages and the concluding observation on the theme of the "Ten Ages of Man." Neither the introductory nor the concluding sections are full enough or helpful enough to justify their existence, and the author would have done much better to plunge directly into her subject, the literary aspects of the German and Latin Dances of Death. On the whole, these aspects are rather more scantily treated than we should expect; the relations of the Dance of Death to other literary forms are most cursorily examined; and too much space proportionately is given to elementary comment on dialectal peculiarities. Misprints are regrettably frequent and disturbing.—A. T.

In spite of the perennial interest in the Renaissance, the beginnings of humanism in England have, in the past, called for only short surveys as parts of comprehensive works. This fact has led Professor Walter F. Schirmer to write *Der englische Frühhumanismus, Ein Beitrag zur englischen Literaturgeschichte des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Bernard Tauchnitz, 1931). In it he has brought together much of the large body of new material made available in modern times through studies of Italian and English humanists and through catalogues of English libraries, particularly those compiled by M. R. James, and he has also made fresh investigations of many obscure phases of the subject. With its compact, well-organized, and carefully documented presentation, the work is indispensable for students of the period. Omissions of any significance are rare. In the sketch of Lydgate's relation to Humphrey (pp. 53-55), for instance, Miss Hammond's studies of Lydgate's use of Italian and classical sources should perhaps have been noticed (*English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey*, pp. 90-97, and "Lydgate and Coluccio Salutati" in *Modern Philology*, XXV [1927], 49-57).—C. R. B.

The tercentenary of Donne's death is happily marked by a collection of essays and studies which testifies notably to his present vitality among scholars, critics, and poets (*A Garland for John Donne, 1631-1931*. Edited by Theodore Spencer. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931; pp. 202). The editor has made his garland a truly international tribute; aside from his own essay, he has gathered five English contributions, one Italian, and one American. T. S. Eliot reviews with his usual clarity and precision some of the more noteworthy contributions to Donne scholarship and criticism. George Williamson has an informative essay on "Donne and the Poetry of Today." The relation of Donne to the poetry of his own time is discussed by Mario Praz, who understands the seventeenth century as few do. Scholarship, in a stricter sense, pays its homage in the erudite contributions from Mrs. Simpson, John Hayward, and John Sparrow on textual and biographical problems. It is unfortunate, however, that the editor should have selected Miss Mary

Paton Ramsay to write on "Donne's Relation to Philosophy." As Mr. Eliot says in the first essay in the volume, her French dissertation "promulgates opinions about Donne which I think we have outgrown." Long ago, in a review in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, April, 1922, I subjected her methods as well as her opinions to a critical examination, and to that review I refer the interested reader.—LOUIS I. BREDVOLD.

A little more than twenty years after its first publication Arnold's *Bücherkunde* has appeared for the third time in a much enlarged form which presents not only a new and pleasing exterior but many innovations between the covers (*Allgemeine Bücherkunde zur neueren deutschen Literaturgeschichte*. By Robert F. Arnold. Dritte, neubearbeitete und stark vermehrte Auflage. Berlin und Leipzig: Verlag Walter de Gruyter und Co., 1931; pp. xxiv+362.). In the twenty years of its existence the *Bücherkunde* has firmly established itself as the most important bibliographical aid for the student of modern German literature. But beyond that the book is a highly useful tool in many of the fields adjacent to the main subject. A glance at the Table of Contents reveals a scope that surprisingly exceeds the promise of the title of the book: general literary history, general biography, general bibliography, linguistics, history of religion, philosophy (including psychology and education), exact sciences, geography, folk lore, political science, general history, cultural history, and history of the arts. In all these fields the important bibliographies, texts, and reference works are listed. But more than that: the author does not content himself with a mere recital of titles; at the beginning of each section he gives a brief sketch of the history of scholarship and the status of research in the field with which the section deals. In connection with each of the more important titles cited, he characterizes briefly and succinctly the nature of the contents of the work. Chapter i, sec. 3b, for example, contains in brief form a complete history of German critical journals; chapter iii records completely and accurately the achievements in the field of German literary history from every possible viewpoint.

It is perhaps unfortunate that considerations of economy have compelled the author to resort to countless abbreviations and condensations. Many of these are quite unintelligible, and the user of the book must frequently resort to the four-page List of Abbreviations. It is also regrettable that the Index of Proper Names, an integral part of the earlier editions, has been omitted. While the Table of Contents and the General Index are admirable in their completeness, they do not quite justify the omission of the Index of Proper Names.—GUSTAVE O. ARLT.

One most happy result of the recent Goethe centenary is George Madison Priest's sturdy translation of *Faust*, published this spring by Covici-Friede of New York. English versions of Goethe's monumental confession—even those of Taylor and Swanwick and Latham—have been wooden things, curiously

lacking in clarity and ingenuity of surmise. When compared not inappositely with Schlegel's German reincarnation of Shakespeare, our English Fausts have thus far seemed grotesque Nuremberg groups turned out on a stock lathe by inept apprentices. So a new embodiment of *Faust* was sadly needed.

Priest's rendering is a fine reaffirmation. It presents to English readers in novel guise and better than before their half-forgotten Titan of the eighteenth-century renaissance. It recaptures for them in imagination all compact that Goethe who was robustious student of life, lover, courtier, scientist, and sage. Unweariedly Priest transmutes the more than twelve thousand verses of his German original, line by line. He has a sharp eye to the transference of thought content and to the preservation of Goethean cadence and rhyme-scheme. He omits nothing, changes nothing, adds nothing. His mien is suave. He is abreast of recent scholarship and mood.

It is not part of this appreciative comment to deal with the presumptive poetic values of Priest's translation. The wary possessor of hoarded dollars may be safely urged to invest five of them to own this adequate and beautiful volume. If upon consequent examination our investor discovers Professor Priest's poem to be less lightning-like in quality than Goethe's, and even at times less lambent than Philip James Bailey's *Festus*, then let the rascally fellow be reminded that strong magic is no everyday matter.—P. S. A.

The Harvard Council on Hispano-American Studies, organized in 1929 under the directorship of Professor Ford, has already made several important contributions to the study of Hispanic-American literature. Within the last year, in addition to three monographs and articles, four bibliographies have been published by members of the committee. Other similar bibliographies will appear from time to time in the near future, since all Latin-American countries are to be represented in the series. The four that have already appeared are as follows: *A Tentative Bibliography of the Belles-Lettres of Uruguay*, by Alfred Coester; *A Tentative Bibliography of Brazilian Belles-Lettres*, by Jeremiah D. M. Ford, Arthur F. Whitten, and Maxwell I. Raphael; *A Tentative Bibliography of the Belles-Lettres of Porto Rico*, by Guillermo Rivera; and *A Tentative Bibliography of the Belles-Lettres of Santo Domingo*, by Samuel Montefiore Waxman (all published by the Harvard University Press, 1931).

The first of the bibliographies comes from Professor Coester of Stanford University, the well-known author of the most comprehensive history of Spanish-American literature. Comparing his bibliography with that of Sturgis E. Leavitt in the same field (*Hispania*, Vol. V [March and May, 1922]), we find that the two supplement each other for the most part, with duplication of titles in a comparatively small number of cases. Professor Leavitt's purpose was to compile a list of books and magazine articles dealing with Uruguayan literature and written by Argentine as well as Uruguayan critics; Professor Coester was concerned only with the literature itself—poetry, drama, prose fiction—and with Uruguayan literary criticism that possesses ar-

tistic qualities and that may be found in permanent book form. Of the six hundred and forty-three titles in his list, one hundred and three have to do with literary criticism or theory; these overlap Leavitt's bibliography to the extent of sixty entries. Within the limitations indicated the two bibliographies will be of great service; what is still needed is a list of studies in Uruguayan literature by scholars who are neither Uruguayan nor Argentine.

The most extensive of the four bibliographies is the one dealing with Brazilian literature. All who have worked in this field know how inadequate and unreliable are the sources of information, and will be more inclined to congratulate the compilers upon their success in assembling almost six thousand titles than to criticize them for the incompleteness of many of the entries or for omissions. That the bibliography is a tentative one is stressed in the Introduction, and the hope is confidently expressed that pan-American solidarity and international scholarship will supply the information needed for corrections and additions. Periodical literature, occupying the last fifteen pages, offers about four hundred titles. Many of the periodicals listed for the last hundred years have been ephemeral in the strictest sense of the word, and their average span of life seems to have been remarkably brief. The list will be, however, most useful; the relation between journalism and literature has always been very close in Latin America, and a very considerable part of Brazilian literature is to be found only in the pages of periodicals. The usefulness of the list would be greatly increased if some information were given as to where the periodicals may be found.

In his bibliography of Porto Rican literature Professor Rivera follows a method of presentation that will appeal to those who are just beginning their studies in this field. Two-thirds of all the books and articles listed (pp. 1-44) are classified, according to content, as anthologies, bibliographies, biography, art, criticism, drama, history, essay, legend, novel, oratory, poetry, tale. Pages 45-57 contain incomplete and unclassified titles and a tentative list of magazine articles and periodicals. The last four pages present a special bibliography for the study of the life and writings of Eugenio María de Hostos, the eminent educator and publicist of Porto Rico.

The task undertaken by Professor Waxman was one of the most difficult of those assigned to the various members of the Council. The literature of Santo Domingo has been neglected even more than that of other Latin-American countries; there is no adequate collection of Dominican books, and literary histories are equally incomplete. In Santo Domingo, Professor Waxman was able to find little bibliographical material in the educational and intellectual institutions; there is no national library and the few municipal libraries offer little assistance. Having gathered his data mainly from private libraries and individual writers, he added the results of his own investigations to the material supplied by existing bibliographies and drew up the present list, which contains, he tells us in the Introduction, the titles of "every dis-

coverable printed work having to do with the literature as well as the fine arts and music of Santo Domingo."

The intellectual and cultural achievement of the other American republics is a comparatively new field of research, and the facilities offered by our universities are still quite inadequate. The main handicap has been the lack of good bibliographies. The four that have already come from the Harvard University Press as the first-fruits of the investigations of the enthusiastic group of scholars that compose the Harvard Council will receive a warm welcome. A solid foundation is being laid for the serious study of Hispano-American literature.—G. W. UMPHREY.

The paroemiologist will be interested in two recent Italian publications, both of them convenient and reliable works of reference. The comprehensive title of each presents at once the plan and purpose of the book. Arthaber's *Dizionario comparato di proverbi e modi proverbiali italiani, latini, francesi, spagnoli, tedeschi, inglesi e greci antichi con relativi indici sistematico-alfabetici* (Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, n.d.) treats of 1,483 international European proverbs, giving first the Italian form followed by the available parallels in the other languages. Although the list of books used for the compilation, as given on page xv, shows that the author had at his disposal only a few random collections of proverbs in the several languages, and these not always the best, nevertheless this is one of the outstanding polyglot collections. Two standard works unknown to the author, which would have yielded many more parallels, are Wander's *Deutsches Sprichwörter-Lexikon* for the German and Sbarbi's *Dizionario de refranes, adagios, proverbios de la lengua española* for the Spanish. The third edition of Hazlitt (not Harzlitt) also should have been used. The prime advantage over the other polyglot collections is that occasionally Arthaber introduces a reference to the specific use of the proverb, and this especially by some Greek or Latin author. In this respect his collection represents an advance over the monumental polyglot collection by Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, which gives no such references at all. This source material in Arthaber, together with the very convenient arrangement of the proverbs according to the Italian catchword, and the comprehensive indexes at the end of the volume listing alphabetically in each language all the proverbs quoted, make this one of the most useful handbooks of its kind.

Of high standard and value is also the compilation by L. De-Mauri (Ernesto Sarasfno), *Flores sententiarum: Raccolta di 5000 sentenze, proverbi e motti latini di uso quotidiano in ordine per materie con le fonti indicate, schiarimenti e la traduzione italiana* (Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 1926). This book, with its Italian translation of each proverb, its occasional explanatory notes, and its arrangement under Italian commonplaces, would seem to have been written for the general reader and not for the scholar. Nevertheless, it will interest the student of comparative paroemiology, for here more frequently than in other works of the kind are references to the literary sources of the proverb

or sententious saying. This feature gives the compilation a distinct place among the numerous Latin florilegia.—RICHARD JENTE.

In *Devil's Ditties* (Chicago: W. W. Hatfield, 1931; pp. viii+180.), Jean Thomas prints some three-score melodies and texts of songs from mountaineer tradition. These are useful and significant additions to our stock of folk song material. The inclusion of many texts which do not fall in the conventional collector's store is particularly welcome. Comparative notes and learned apparatus are lacking, since they do not comport with the author's aim. But we need not greatly complain of their absence. We should, on the contrary, rejoice in the endeavor to give some of the atmosphere in which these songs live. It is altogether satisfying that folk lore materials are now being enriched by the publication of books which give some notion of the singers and their world. Naturally enough, such books differ widely in content and method of approach: compare the present volume with such earlier essays as W. R. MacKenzie, *The Quest of the Ballad* (Princeton, 1919); A. S. Møller, *Folkevisebilleder* (Copenhagen, 1923); E. T. Kristensen, *Gamle Kildevæld: nogle billeder af visesangere og æventyrfortællere* (Copenhagen [pub. Viborg], 1927); and M. Bringemeier, *Gemeinschaft und Volkslied: Beitrag zur Dorfkultur des Münsterlandes* ("Veröffentlichungen der volkskundlichen Kommission des Provinzialinstitutes für westfälische Landes- und Volkskunde," Vol. I, Part I [Münster, 1931]).—A. T.

In her very interesting essay, *Die Sage vom Riesenspielzeug* ("Deutsche Arbeiten der Universität Köln." Jena: Diederichs, 1931. Pp. 131), Valerie Höttges collects and studies the instances of a tale which Chamisso has made famous: The giant's daughter brings a farmer and his horses in her apron to her mother. The mother orders her daughter to carry them back to the place where she found them, for "they will drive us out." Although this curious story has already aroused some attention, it deserves more careful study than it has hitherto received. In this place I shall limit my comment to remarks on the author's collection and presentation of her material without discussing the many other interesting questions which her essay raises. We cannot rely, as Fräulein Höttges does (p. 6), on lists made on the basis of Aarne's catalogue ("FF Communications," No. III), even in the admirable revision of Stith Thompson (*ibid.*, No. LXXIV), since this catalogue makes no claim to provide for local legends (*Sagen*). Many a local legend—and, in particular, our tale of the Giant's Plaything—has no place in that catalogue. Consequently the silence of Boggs's list for Spain (*ibid.*, No. XC) does not signify, and the assumption that the story is not known in Spain—although very probably correct—does not derive greater authority from Boggs's work. The materials on which Fräulein Höttges bases her conclusions are relatively complete. At any rate, the examples which I can add do not alter the picture much: DENMARK, E. T. Kristensen, *Jydske Folkesagn* ("Jydske Folkeminder" [Co-

penhagen, 1876)], III, 59, No. 75, and *Danske Sagn*, II (Silkeborg, 1895), 5-6, § 1, No. 13; SWEDEN, Bergström and Nordlander, *Bidrag till kännedom om de svenska landsmälen*, V, ii (1885), 53, No. 20; Eriksson, *Dalarnas Hembygds-förbunds Tidskrift*, VI (1926), 90; Dybeck, *Runa* (1847), p. 34, No. 8; O. Hermelin, "Sägner och folktro, seder och sagor," *Svenska Landsmål och svenskt Folkliv* (1909), III, 15, No. 22 (I cannot verify this reference at the moment); J. Kalén, *Halländska Folkminnen* (Halmstad, 1927), p. 58; T. Norlind, *Svenska Allmogens Liv* (Stockholm, 1925), p. 586; E. G. W., *Gamla Minnen från Delsbo och Djuråker* (cited from Norlind), p. 8; GERMANY and AUSTRIA, R. Bechstein, *Thüringer Sagenbuch* (Leipzig, 1885), I, 2-3, No. 3; A. Haas, *Pommersche Sagen* ("Deutscher Sagenschatz" [Jena, 1924]), p. 244; H. von der Sann, *Sagen aus der grünen Mark* (Graz, 1922), pp. 236, 237. I take these references from the unpublished dissertation of J. R. Broderius, *The Giant in Germanic Tradition* (Chicago, 1930), p. 140.

There are some details of presentation which call for comment. It would be helpful to have indications of all the places where a tale has been printed, for to a large extent the collectors of these local tales glean from earlier volumes instead of drawing on popular tradition. So, for example, Fräulein Höttges cites (p. 92, No. 30) "A. Kuhn und W. Schwartz: Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen u. Gebräuche. Leipzig, 1848, S. 95" and omits, as only too often, reference to the number (in this instance No. 107), and omits furthermore the following references to reprintings of the same story: W. Schwartz, *Sagen und alte Geschichten der Mark Brandenburg*<sup>4</sup> (Stuttgart, 1903), p. 136, No. 88; F. Ranke, *Die deutschen Volkssagen*<sup>2</sup> ("Deutsches Sagenbuch," ed. F. von der Leyen [Munich, 1924]), p. 227; O. Dümke, *Havelsagen* ("Dürres Sammlung deutscher Sagen," III [Leipzig, 1924]), 71, No. 55; P. Zaunert, *Deutsche Natursagen* ("Deutscher Sagenschatz" [Jena, 1921]), I, 9; H. Lohr, *Märkische Sagen* ("Eichblatts deutscher Sagenschatz," II [Leipzig, 1921]), 74-75, No. 130; Friedel and Mielke (edd.), *Landeskunde der Provinz Brandenburg* (Berlin, 1912), III, 166.

It is altogether praiseworthy that the author prints the texts *in extenso* (pp. 85-126). Few investigators in the history of tales have done so. I find it a minor defect that we have, as in practically every study of this kind, a series of long and terrifying tabulations at the very beginning (pp. 6-12). Such lists will frighten even the bravest reader, and scholars in the field of folk lore must learn to present their results in more attractive form. As I have said, I limit my remarks to matters of style. In substance, Fräulein Höttges gives us much to think about: questions regarding the origin and nature of giants and more special problems involving the cultural background and the spread of this tale are broached. At another time I may have occasion to discuss these matters.—A. T.



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